



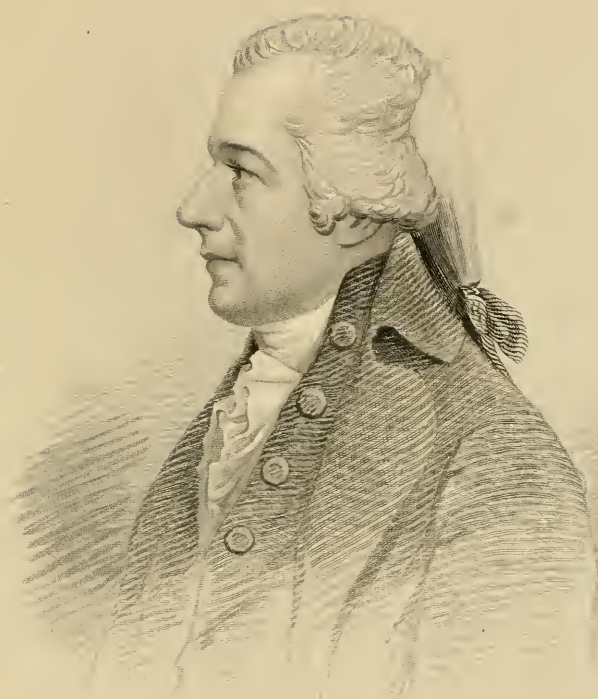
HAMILTON CLUB SERIES.

No. 3.

IN PRESS,

No. 4 HAMILTON CLUB SERIES.

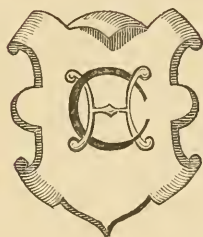
“LETTERS TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, KING OF THE FEDS.
Ci-devant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States
of America, Inspector-General of the Standing Armies
thereof, Counfellow at Law, &c., &c., &c.”



The HAMILTON CLUB desire to return its thanks to Mr. HENRY B. DAWSON, of Morrisania, N. Y., for the use of his steel-plate portrait of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, from which the impressions were taken to illustrate this number of its series.

THE
HAMILTONIAD.

BY
✓
JOHN WILLIAMS,
II
(ANTHONY PASQUIN.)



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THE
HAMILTONIAD:

OR,

AN EXTINGUISHER FOR THE
ROYAL FACTION OF NEW-ENGLAND.

WITH

COPIOUS NOTES,

ILLUSTRATIVE, BIOGRAPHICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, CRITICAL, ADMONITORY,
AND POLITICAL; BEING INTENDED AS A

HIGH-HEELED SHOE

FOR ALL LIMPING REPUBLICANS.

BY ANTHONY PASQUIN, ESQ.

Sic tranfit gloria mundi !

Here to day, and gone laft Sunday !

Vide Irish edition.

The *Monarchifts* snivel and fob,

And sadden all Bofton towny ;

Cause Freedom goes up, up, up,

And the *Tories* go down, down, downy !

Parody on Swift's ballad.

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Sold for the Author, price 31 cents, at the Independent Chronicle
Office, Court-Street, Bofton.

TO
PERPETUATE THE BRUTAL INFAMY
OF
JOHN PARK, *M. D.*

A GALENICAL EXCRESCENCE :

Who is the vile and crawling minion of the *Essex Junto*, that has been labouring to destroy the federal fabric of our Republican Constitution, and introduce a monarchical despotism upon its ruins—Who has desolated the fair regions of Truth and Taste and Science, by a torrent of verbal barbarism, which is only congenial with the mind and temperament of a low ruffian, who is ignorant of the responsibility of a gentleman to his own honour—Who is maintaining a dirty existence at the expense of human esteem—Who made a guilty calculation upon the anti-republican prejudices of a particular judicature to diffuse his calumnies in defiance of the existing law.—He is the pensioned scavenger and servile dog of the *Royal Faction* of New-England, who are now gasping on their political death-bed; but whose despair and rancour is such, that they can neither die with the affiance of christians, or the grace of gentlemen.—To hold up this miscreant to endless contempt, who would obliterate the traces of charity and politeness from mankind, this work is published by

THE AUTHOR,

Who has reason to think, that this is the only portion of a nation, where the life and character of a citizen is endangered, by his promoting the virtuous designs of the general government of his country.

BOSTON, SEPT. 6, 1804.



THE HAMILTONIAD.

CANTO THE FIRST.

THE ARGUMENT.

A prodigious glowing description of the Summer season, short but sweet.—Fate, being very angry with the cursed pranks of the ROYAL FACTION, deposes Death to take away their Leader.*—The lamentations of the Party on their mortal loss.—Symptoms of presumption in the lesser FEDS; the party are sick and insane, and all that.

IN that gay season of the laughing Loves,
When Cupid flits in amaranthine groves;
When the high pulse suffuses Delia's charms,
And all the nobler passions are in arms;

* *Quod fuit esse, quod est: quod non fuit esse, quod esse;
Esse quod est, non esse quod est: non est, erit esse.*

When the hot Sun discharg'd his fervid ray,
In summer's fierce, intolerable day,
Frying the herbage on the fissur'd ground ;
Embrowning all the vicinage around.
When insects flutter'd, in the zenith bless'd ;
When the Winds doz'd, and even light oppress'd ;
When the shrill locust twitters from the boughs ;
And choral toads, 'neath Cynthia, croak their vows ;
When Labour fainted 'neath the sparkling gleam ;
When *Sirius* issued down his madd'ning beam :
When serpents leave the covert to annoy,
Uncurl and undulate and writhe with joy :
FATE, full of ire, to see the matchless crimes,
That move our Royalists of modern times ;
(Resolv'd to fill the *Tories'* cup with grief ;)
Gave DEATH a *veto* to arrest their chief :
The son of Sin, who's ever in a rage,
Put on his boots, and took the earliest stage
That sunk through ether, on Columbia's rout ;
Seiz'd an extinguisher, and—put him out !
When HAMILTON's great spirit upward flew,
Hope shut her gates upon the Federal crew !

The *Essex Junto* felt the mortal blow,
 And lay, dismantled, in a storm of woe :
 Their milk of policy was turn'd to curds :
 Their *dirty deeds* were chang'd to...*dirty words* !
 Sedition puts on mourning—Treason cries,
 And Terror wipes the rivers from his eyes :
 Gaunt Superstition hurls his wig in air !
 Extortion burns his ledger in despair !
 They twist, and foam, and whimper, spit and scold,
 As Satan and his *caucus* did, of old :
 Like wounded adders, by their mis'ry wrung,
 Each Reptile bears fell poison on his tongue
 To injure Virtue !—How they hiss and weep,
 As pitying Goodness lets the vermin creep ?
 Like Cybele's mad priests,* these royal FEDS,
 Roar, rave and growl, and dance upon their heads :
 T' alarm our constancy, they Wit assail,
 And shake their bloody tresses in the gale ;
 Burst in the nursery, with hideous yells,
 And frighten gossips with their horrid spells :

* *crinemq; rotantes,*

Sanguineum Populis ulularant tristia Galli !

LUCIAN. Book I.

Till JEDIDIAH shudders at their looks,
And the King's FISHER flies from Dedham brooks!
Our General's gone the sobbing varlets cry:
Our General's gone, the echoing hills reply:
Our Elders tremble, and the morning lows;
And Pride is indispos'd, and scorn is ours;
The wine is drawn that gave our being zest,
We are the lees, a PARTY, and...*a Jest!*
Buoyant, but rudderless, our vessel rides;
While Ridicule's fierce surges lash our sides;
The Pilot's gone, who marshall'd us, in war:
The Charioteer is stricken from the car:
The day is sombrous—Vanity is dumb:
Like junior Bears, our sorrows are to come:
Eclipse the Sun—Be all the world accurst:
Now Death and Destiny have done their worst:
We'll tear the Statutes—sharpen Rancour's claws;
UNHINGE THE UNION; and efface the Laws:
Smash Fortune's wheel—throw Prudence in the mud,
And get inebriate with Patriots' blood.—
Poor *Alma Mater's* bound! how wan she looks!
She gave a *royal bias* to her books,

To ween her children from the truth they sought,
And tinge the morals, and debauch the thought;
Yet bearing WASHINGTON's bright name along,
To mask the sentiment of Hell's own song!
So dire *Pizarro* wielded Rapine's rod,
Beneath the symbols of the Lamb of God!
Like a Tartarean knot, behold these elves,
Disrob'd of wit, excoriate themselves:
Hark how they imprecate!—they fright the sense;
Disgust the vulgar, and sublime offence:
They make their final overthrow their theme:
Mark how the Despots blubber and blaspheme!
Distraction perturbates PRR's *eleves* here;
And Fraud dissolves beneath the touch of Fear:
Dread cuts the saddle from the Federal horse:
Guilt throws the Alcoran at Dr. M——c!
New-Hampshire wakes in anger and surprise,
Damns GILMAN's opiates and rubs her eyes:
Enslav'd *Connecticut* to think begins,
And choaks *Uriah* with his regal sins:
Like an *old scunk*, squat, trodden down and lame,
Swelling with rage, and interdicted fame:

Verb-murdering NOAH sat, like Envy's nurse,
Scowling at Phœbus!—levelling his curse :
In anguish brandishing his goose-drawn pen ;
The *first of coxcombs*, and the *last of men* !
Thus he exclaim'd amid the Royal throng,
And call'd on Vengeance, in his pointless song.
Why am I made the shuttlecock of Scorn ?
Or why engender'd ?—Why are Caitiffs born ?
Am not I faithful to the *royal cause* ?
I mar our grammars, and I hate the laws :
If I tell Truth, decree me to be curst :
Tie me to *Boreas*, till I fill and burst ;
To aid his roarings, when he's most insane ;
To howl round *Hatteras*, and lash the main ;
To dash the tiller from the helmsman's hand,
And sweep the harvest from the teeming land !
Ah ! were I form'd, like PRR, to scare and huff ;
And made with odds and ends of human stuff ;
Not colour'd, with a fact, but merely stain'd,
Hewn out for symmetry, but never plan'd :
An uncreative monster, knit to vex,
Hermaphroditic, and of neither sex :—

But I am doom'd to nibble Treason's buds :
While TIM, *the Pope*, is growling in the suds ;
I feel our tide of glory's on the ebb ;
I'm wrapt in Obloquy's adhesive web :
Open my *cranium*, Learning's vast emporium,
And play the engine on my hot *sensorium* :
Could we but put King R——s, in the chair,
We'd circumscribe this Freedom, with despair :
Hold Reason to her bail, in heavy fines :
Gag babbling Wit, and stifle Truth's designs :
Make Wisdom's cheek, with apprehension, pale,
And hurry stern Philosophy, to jail !——
Who'll stab that PASQUIN ? I've a keen stiletto !
I'm one, says P——k, we'll make it a duetto :
His essays dissipate our federal fog :
He smiles at Bishops—what a horrid dog !
He's pushing Monarchists to Ruin's brink !
What iron times !—HOW DARE AN ALIEN THINK ?
The Demon tan his democratic buff :
He owns he's stupid, yet they'll read his stuff !

S'blood, he shan't breathe—Ah ! my ferocious Tory,
Just hear a simple Poet, tell his story ;
Nay though you whet your daggers, foam and lie,
I cannot swear your Chief was—*six feet high !*

(END OF FIRST CANTO.)

THE HAMILTONIAD.

CANTO THE SECOND.

ARGUMENT.

A chilling description of the Autumnal Season, coloured from life—
The Tories in a political purgatory—The KING'S FISHER, is sorely
diseased in spirit and vomits his grief, in numbers, more varied in
feet, than the Centiped—He confesseth multifarious transgressions—
Pope Timothy become pious from sympathy—The minor Feds, put
in their claim to consideration.

WHEN the refulgent God of cheering day,
Through Heaven's high arch pursued his beamy way,
To visit *Libra* ; (an autumnal form)
Convulsing Ocean with a ruthless storm,
That buried navies in th' unfathom'd deep :—
When withering Ministers made Nature weep—
When Gusts, with faded leaves, bestrew'd the ground,
And shed the honors of the Forest round ;
(Sad, mortal emblem, for perturbed man !)
When Ants, in myriads, to their grain'ries ran—

When Yeomen squeez'd their apples into juice ;
Expressing cyder for the hamlet's use :
When Chymists cull the medicinal root :
When ruddy cheek'd Pomona hous'd her fruit :
When the tann'd Husbandman had stack'd his corn ;
The husking past ; and Plenty fill'd her horn :
When Flies, who'd seen three moons, with age grew
 blind :
When Geese prepar'd to perish for mankind !
When Hinds would bruise their maize to fat their
 hogs :
When Care began to pile his winter's logs :
When Robins ceas'd to warble on the spray,
And Nature's vigour seem'd to feel decay :
When Housewives buy new blankets for their beds :
The shatter'd remnants of these ROYAL FEDS,
By Desperation call'd, (a motley throng)
Pourtray'd their matchless agonies, in song ! —
 First, the KING'S FISHER (now no halcyon nigh)
Commenc'd his peerless ditty, with a sigh !
Th' egregious Dabbler, in the parts of speech,
Alternately would threaten and beseech :

In Essays (innocent of thought) complain,
Led by the *Ignis fatuus* of his brain :
Oh, for the loyal days of GEN'RAL GAGE ;
When *Yankees* sung, their sorrows, in—a cage !
Express'd a reverence in the tone of fear,
And paid their tribute with a decent tear :
How LEWIS proves the bliss to be unwise !
With perfect modesty, how COLEMAN—lies :
The bronze of CARPENTER proclaims his sect ;
And PARK gives nonsense aspect and effect ;
How Imposition doats upon their clack !
What charming chesnuts, for the De'el to crack !
I'll write no more for Printers stern and dull :
The R——lls drink their claret from—*my scull* :
Ligneous lump, the seat of mental pains,
Cumbersome as woe, yet unoppress'd with—brains !

JOHN A——s growls, indignant, but forlorn,
While the world gives *their* pity for *his* scorn !
God help the little States, they're full of trouble ;
Fortune's a jilt ! Ambition is a bubble ;
Good by'e, *Rhode-Island—Delaware*, adieu ;
Behold these tears ! they gush, they flow, for you :

Forefend them Heaven, for sure that day will come,
When *Pennsylvania's* and *Virginia's* claws,
Shall seize these tiny Darlings, for their maws,
And gulp them, as the Cow did TOMMY THUMB!
The Philosophic Chief of Monticello,
Is such a heterodox and hungry fellow;
Churches and Chapels, Synagogues and Kirkies,
To him are Capons, Ducks, and Geese and Turkies.
Faith stalks at large—Urbanity will swagger;
And redd'ning Bigotry *must* hide his dagger:
Had I his power, prerogative, and place,
I'd trim these Wits, and flog 'em into—grace;
Fry, like Saint *Larry*, casuistic Souls;
Satan might like a rasher on the coals—
My heated temper mounts, inflam'd with ire;
And, boils, like JULIEN's soup, upon the fire!
Would I were metamorphos'd to a Flea,
I'd hop to Washington, with cruel glee,
Steal in the galligaskins of our Chief,
And make his Excellency twist with grief;
Watch, when he wrote of Diplomatic news;
And make him careless of his P's and Q's.

Ah, now I droop, beneath the thumb of Care,
I'll take off Horror's cutting edge, by prayer:

The KING's FISHER's PRAYER.

Vir bonus est QUIIS !

The good man's a political *Quiz !*

Vide Dog-Latin.

For thee, oh GEORGE, and kingly craft,
From my heart's core, I fervent waft

My sighs across the ocean :

Ah ! could I here thy influence see,

I'd grub up Freedom's sacred tree,

And give the Furies motion.

Farmers and vile Mechanics too,

(Faugh ! now I scent the vulgar crew)

Will in the Congress gabble ;

Where none but pension'd Lords should sit,

T' indorse the writs of BILLY PITT,

And muzzle all the rabble.

Hot Rage, is gnawing through my trunk,

Be calm, my soul—I'll try the Monk,

Come hither, JEDIDIAH!
Let Faith's pure articles be mine;
I know you'd swallow thirty-nine,
And be a mitre higher.
I will not be *that Thing* I am;
Give to my grasp the *Ori flamme* ;*
I'll wield the gaudy banners :
Dazzle the senses of the croud,
Amaze the weak—Seduce the proud,
And royalize their manners.
My throbbing heart can bear no more :
Make me combustious—half seas o'er :
High charg'd from Treason's cup :
Then lead me midst the virtuous throng,
I'll watch the acmé of their song,
Then burst and blow 'em up !
Ah ! would the witch of *Colchos*, shew,
(For I'm no Conjuror you know)
How she makes Dragons dozy :
I'd physic PASQUIN and DUANE,
Lull the fierce guards of CHEETHAM's brain,
Till Truth, with wrath, was rosy !

* The royal consecrated banner, of the expatriated Bourbon family, in France.

As I grow old, I go astray ;
Come sweet *Hygeia* wash away
 The bile from off my liver ;
Having but *Sysiphean* skill,
To raise a stone that rolls down hill,
 I curse the gift and giver.
There's —— swore he'd stab our Chief,
And yet the wretch ('tis past belief)
 Mocks God at the communion !
If I cry, zounds ! how Deacons bark,
Or get six cents worth, in the dark,
 'Tis told to all the Union !
Were we hung up in classic skies,
As signals, chang'd, for telling lies,
 How BONAPARTE 'd stare !
E——y a lateral *Crab* you'd see ;
BANDANO and grim LACO 'd be
 The *great* and *lesser* Bear !
My whiskers, once of hazel hue,
Chang'd, like *Moll Coggin's* wig, to blue,
 May aid to 'scape detection :
My cheeks are wet with tory tears ;

Each Wish is pinch'd by rising Fears,
And Chagrin rides Reflection.
What reck'ning Freedom has 'gainst me!
Could she but keep an Inn, d'ye see,
I'd list while Patriots talk :
Steal in her bar with visage sad,
Swear that the heart-burn made me mad,
And lick off all the chalk !
What's *Aristocracy*, but woe ?
A social bane—the Christian's foe !
I would, but can't, run from it :
Grandeur's a bubble, boiling hot,
For God's sake, Patience, bring the pot,
'Fore Heaven, I shall vomit !
Then Wisdom thus, with pitying looks,
" Egregious man, I gave thee books,
But you have never read 'em ;
Embrace those blisses Fate has sent ;
BE FREE—BE EQUAL—BE CONTENT,
And smile, once more, at Dedham
Let Britain fight, for Britain's self.
Put all thy essays on the shelf ;

Propel no more the riot :
 Contract the measure of thy cares
 Eschew sedition—say thy pray'rs :
 And go to sleep in quiet.”
 Like the *Phæbeian Byblis*, craz'd with fears,
 Sat Pontiff TIM, dissolving into tears
 By Misery mark'd, and smarting with her rod,
 He threw his Lexicon at Laco's god :
 Now wept, now laugh'd, at each convulsive throe,
 A Tragi-comic, spectacle of woe !
 At length, in pity, to his matchless grief,
Morpheus descended to infuse relief ;
 Gather'd a herb, from the Cimmerian bed,
 And squeez'd the zest, with labour, through his head ;
 Then, most sublimely stupid, *Yale's* black lord,
 Fell down recumbent, snuffled, writh'd and snor'd—
 Rapt, in his sleep, all gorgeous, big and bright,
 The vast Hierarch fill'd his mental sight ;
 To all the Diocesan aims allied !—
 Forestalling every privilege of pride !—
 Freighting with thunders from the Mother Church !—
 Leaving the vulgar Christian in the lurch !—

Sinking in soul, a Despot to adore!—
Kissing the skirts of Babylon's red whore!—
To make D. D.'s ennobled, rich and grand,
And scatter mitres o'er the promis'd land:
For *Massachusetts*, (on the Monk's petition)
He trac'd an Abbey, for his own condition:
But gave *Connecticut* the—INQUISITION! }
While yet the vision blisses could impart;
While Joy's full tide was pouring through his heart:
The papal bubble broke!—That Imp of song,
His own man NOAH (ever in the wrong)
Stole in to tell him, with a hideous yell,
How C——b had struggled, and how W——l fell!
When all his nerves were knitted by Despair;
And Grandeur melted into viewless air!
Thus, when a vapour, (issued from a fen,)
Fraught with a pest, to sow disease 'mong men,
Hangs pendant on the margin of a Town,
With sullen ponderance and sable frown;
A keen North-Wester, rushing from the Lakes,
Bursts the concretion and the fluid breaks.
Then rosy-finger'd Health resumes her sway,
And Truth's broad beam irradiates the day.

Superb *New-Haven* moan'd—Hope look'd askew,
And pale *URIAH*'s candles all burnt blue :
The *MINOR FEDS* pour'd in, with panting breath,
To crave his blessing, ere they sunk in death ;
But *TIM* was so bewilder'd with his sorrow,
He d——d them all, and bade them call to-morrow :
While Retribution, to coerce their glories,
Spread a *tenesmus* and hard-bound the Tories !

END OF CANTO SECOND.

THE HAMILTONIAD.

CANTO THE THIRD.

ARGUMENT.

Winter delineated in all his horrors—A slight sketch in imitation of *Virgil's Night*—Somnus, in compassion to the Royal Faction, administers a short repose—They are awakened by their familiar Demon—Each utters a dying Speech—The Gods, offended at their criminality and arrogance, extinguish their humanity in a metamorphosis—An Elegy at their hall of carousal.

WHEN, at past four, P. M. the radiant God,
(Led by the Paphian Boy's imperious nod)
Sunk, neath th' horizon, arm'd with am'rous fires,
His magic song, announcing his desires :
To clasp his Thetis to his burning breast ;
Leaving a sordid hemisphere to rest ;
Amid th' inclement rulers of the hour—
When Winter's icy minions urge their pow'r—
In that dread Season, when the saline force,
Congeals the Baltic and arrests its course :

When savage Boreas begins his reign,
And pours his terrors on the heaving main ;
Howling terrific in the murd'rous gale ;
To scare the Mariner, and rend his bellying sail ;
Rebut him, way-worn, from the port of Ease,
And hurl him backward through the roaring seas ;
While love-lorn MARY, looks with tearful eyes,
And pitying WILLIAM, freights the wind with sighs !—
When the *Balanæ* revel in the floods ;
When the gaunt wolf wakes Echo in the woods,
And bays the silver Regent of the night,
Who glitters through the concave of the sight !
When Seamen shiver at the hollow blast,
While the snow gathers round the thick'ning mast—
When Bacchanals uplift the flowing bowl,
To elevate the functions of the soul ;
Thaw the cold juices of the gelid breast ;
And welcome tipsy Revelry, and Jest.—
When Gossips huddle near the crackling fire,
To prate of Ghosts and incantations dire :
How Witches blight the harvest as they list,
And ride on besoms, through the clammy mist ;

Of Wizards' talismans, and ills they wrought,
Till the sense fears the image of the Thought!
When the keen sleet makes puny Travellers sigh—
When wild geese scream, erratic, through the sky—
When Farmers, for their kine, break up the brook—
When Crickets chirrup from the smoky nook—
When the *Vermonter* yokes his wheelless cart,
And scuds, with ven'son, down to Boston mart:
When, round the blazing hearth gay groupes incline,
To munch their shag-barks and to mull their wine
When the North Gale, in whistling wrath, appears,
And bites the selvidges of Yankey ears:
When the vast hills are whiten'd o'er with snow—
When Graziers sled their ricks from fens below—
When Darkness circumscribes the cheerless day—
When Fishes wriggle from the snow-fraught bay—
When viscid Serpents burrow'd, in a heap,
In intersecting curves, fraternal sleep:
When bell-deck'd horses draw the rapid sleigh,
O'er beds of ice (beneath pale Cynthia's ray)
To Pleasure's midnight haunts, where Beauty throws
Her fears aside, and dances, sips and glows!

When shrinking Toil, collapsing in the air,
 Lights his segar and puffs away despair—
 When Strength perceives the issue of his breath—
 — When bank-lodg'd Swallows doze in demi-death—
 When Matrons knit their husbands' fleecy hose—
 When *mucus* dribbles from the frost-night nose!
 In that inclement hour, when Day grew blind,
 And Somnus throws narcotics to mankind:
 Clogg'd with the poppies of Lethean sleep,
 The FACTION slumber'd and forgot to—weep!
 Each hand withheld from throwing Fortune's dice,
 Respite from misery, and woe and vice:
 The ides of *March the fourth* were all forgot,
 And their *what was*, absorb'd in—*what is not*!
 Gaunt Envy ceas'd, immortal men to hoot,
 And even Slander's foamy tongue was mute.
 *The bright stars twinkled in the vaulted sky;

* Nox erat; et placidum carpebant sessa soporem
 Corpora per terras; silvæque et sæva quierant
 Æquora; cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu;
 Cum tacet omnis ager; pecudes, pictæque volucres,
 Quæque lacus late liquidos, quæque aspera dumis
 Rura tenent, somno positæ sub nocte silenti
 Lenibant curas; et corda oblita laborum.
 At non infelix animi Phænissa:

VIRGIL.

Responsive Hogs, were grunting in the sty ;
 The bark lay torpid on the azure wave ;
 The winds were hush'd in th' Æolian cave ;
 The Gossamer was chain'd, and all at rest,
 Except the Cyprian boy in Chloe's breast.

At length, the Demon, leagu'd with Hate and Care,
 Touch'd each, in turn, and call'd him to Despair :
 With shudd'ring sympathy, and op'ning claws,
 The Band uprose, in a Tartarean noise,
 With *ennui* yawning, till they crack'd their jaws !
 They cast, in ire, their glaring eye-balls round,
 And scowl'd, and scar'd, and shrugg'd, and moan'd
 and frown'd :

Tous ces vers coulent d'un mouvement presque insensible : chaque phrase a son repos : et l'on y sent le charme du sommeil. Voyons si l'on retrouve l'original dans la copie de Voltaire.

Les astres de la nuit rouloient dans le silence ;
 Eole a suspendu les haleines des vents ;
 Tout se tait sur les eaux, dans les bois, dans les champs,
 Fatigue des travaux qui vont bientôt renaitre,
 Le tranquille taureau s'endort avec son maître ;
 Les malheureux humains ont oublié leurs maux,
 Tout dort, tout s'abandonne aux charmes du repos.
 Phœnisie veille et pleure.

With cank'ring fangs, all grinding to molest,
They humm'd, like Hornets, brav'd within their nest.
Some shriek'd their woe in *alt*, while some were harsh ;
And croak'd, like Bull-frogs, in the dismal marsh :
Some, of vast bulk, lay poison'd by Ill's leaven,
Like prostrate Titans, who'd offended Heaven :
They saw Perdition's gulph, black, deep and foul,
Till the pain'd Sight brought terror to the Soul :
Some, with burst hearts, hung pensive o'er their knees ;
While others felt them shrivell'd into peas :
Many sat couchant on their quiv'ring hams,
Entranc'd with apathy, and cold as clams.
Some perch'd, presumptuous, mid the *Tory* train,
Blackguards in thought and act, and blood and grain :
Prompt or to swear, or lie, or stab or run,
And unroof Chapels, in the noon-day Sun :
Miscreants who'd fatten in immoral wars,
Who'd tear the Decalogue to light segars :
Who'd wade in carnage, for a demi—price,
Minions of Guilt, and pioneers of Vice.
Fed pounc'd on Fed, and brother taunted brother,
Spitting, like roasting apples, at each other ;

'Twas you're half Democrat, with freedom cramm'd ;
And you, are trimming, Sir, and you be d——d !

TIM P———G thus, in irregular strains,
Slaver'd out his resentment and pictur'd his pains :
Take the Sun and the Moon from the day and the night,
Draw the Earth's massy linch-pin—Abolish Delight :
Should the Fish cleave the seas, or Birds chirp in the
air,

While M———N fills my official chair ?
Thence I batter'd at Freedom, with PTR for my guide,
While L—ST—N and H—M—N flank'd on each side ;
There we plann'd social ills that admit of no cure,
And made poor struggling France, a vile *caricature* ;
Rais'd taxes and armies to coax and alarm,
And with rank *Tory* pus touch'd the Federal arm ;
Strove to sneer down all good, and were riding post
haste,

When the thunders of God, laid our infamy waste ;
Awful Justice uprose, and surveying the evil,
Kick'd our factious Cabal, and their plots to the Devil !
Now I feel as perturbed as tides 'neath the Moon,
Or a Dollar ramm'd down, for a voyage to Canton :

Or an Iberian Bull in the murderous ring :
 Or Love in the suds, or a Pig in a string :
 Or a Knave with the stripes of a stern, civic whipper,
 Or a Cod on the hook of a Marblehead skipper.
 Wisdom's render'd the halters of Cruelty nooseless :
 Now, like Cats in new buildings, our talons are useless :
 Some are sick—some cashier'd and from duty exempt,
 Or hung up, like torn Coats, on the pegs of Contempt!

With a sing'd paw, like Folly's ductile Cat,
 The beardless Star-Gazer of S——d sat;
 Hammering Lies!—Like Vulcan at his fire,
 Begrim'd with filth, and reeking with his ire :
 More subtle *Catilines*, in shade, behind,
 Fed the hot forge, or rais'd th' inflaming wind !
 He'd fashion'd the tenth Lie, with skill profound,
 When Hell's infernal Tenants, crawl'd around ;
 In horrid extacy they said, or sung ;
 Can one so mischievous, be yet so young ?
 Be this a *Fete d'enfer*, grim Moloch, howls ;
 Let *Io Pæan*, charge Perdition's Souls ;
 'Twixt Sin & Shame, a new-fledg'd crime is trac'd :
 'Tis H—LB—T—M, first in order plac'd
 The old Enormities are all disgrac'd. }

Be it the theme of fell Tartarean lays :
The Machiavelian Spirit gives it praise !
Lull'd from these scenes by Sleep's embalming care :
Then rous'd from Slumber's clutches by Despair ;
The legal Prattler (fond of a debate)
View'd his burnt fingers, and thus sigh'd to Fate.
Why am I now the shuttlecock of Life ;
The point of Laughter, and the germ of Strife :
Why have you suffer'd in the world's great mart,
Contempt to hold a *mortgage* on my heart ?
'Tis not bar-practice, and deserves no fee ;
If you say 'tis, come down and ask old THE.
Why am I thus encumber'd with distress ;
I'd make you *justify*, if you were less—
We've other *Royalists* more dire than me,
Who walk, on carpets, to eternity !
Lo ! *Draco* sits a Tyrant and a Judge,
His tone, a menace, and his thought a grudge :
No kindly sympathies attune his age :
His pulses quick'ning only in—his rage !
O'er Freedom's sons, his aching eye-balls roll,
Hate, in his breast, and Treason in his soul ;

So mean, he'll creep for favors, through the mire :
Then spurn the Dolt, that sated his desire.
The Furies hail him, as he chills the day,
And Terror stalks, before him, on his way :
A Slave, in principle—an active Flaw :
A Dog, 'mong worthies, and a Fiend, in law :
At Death's black portal the worn miscreant stands :
With fearful eyes, and parricidal hands :
While Wisdom's manacled, and Honor weeps,
He prates of equity, and says—he sleeps !!!
His blood-stain'd fangs made Desolation start :
And Mercy shuddered as she view'd his heart.

Demi-secluded from his fallen Peers,
Thus H. G. O. expressed his well-bred fears :
My Allies sicken—Baal is laid low,
And ev'ry month creates a new-fledg'd woe :
Were but their functions equal to their phlegm,
They'd run from me, who cannot run from them :
Each Caucus now, I reprobate and rue ;
I'd start an *alibi*, but that won't do.
Mesh'd in the Fed'ral web, I'm leagu'd to work,
I've worn the crescent and must shield the Turk.

W—rr—n must drag each new-born feud to light,
And I array them for statistic sight :
Disreputable toil of fell distress,
That's prais'd by few, and e'en that few gets less.
I'd publish, could I, and without a fee,
My *nollem factum* against Liberty !
Bring me Medea's kettle, plunge me in :
Ah, lave these royal speckles from my skin :
How small the error, when such ills commence !
How great the evil, in the consequence !
What's a *palazzo*, but the base of Care,
Unless Content sits jocund in our chair :
With sparkling vision blessing Reason's bowl,
And op'ning ev'ry alley of the Soul ?
Yet, though opposing modes may vex the hour,
I trust Urbanity will keep his pow'r ;
To harmonize Ambition's ruthless song,
And lead resplendent Charity along.—
Say, shall the attributes of Peace be o'er ?
Shall social blandishments be known no more ?
Shall the prophane and vile, from Envy's den,
Stand on a parallel with radiant men ?

Shall Rudeness execrate Wit's polish'd song,
Merely that blatant Rudeness dare be wrong?
Forbid, this harsh result to be endur'd :
In this kind aim, let *Party* be abjur'd—
A GENTLEMAN's a being Gods inspire,
Beyond the vulgar, and of purer fire ;
Reproving weaknesses by poignant sense,
Never offending—Slow to meet offence :
Either *Minerva* woos him to be kind :
One nerves his arm, the other nerves his mind :
Serenely firm he lifts his awful crest,
And Beauty nestles in his ample breast :
Giving disdain to each unhallow'd fear ;
In action, noble—In expression, clear :
By Delicacy's mandate taught and rais'd,
He smooths those ethics that the Schools have prais'd ;
(Like the involving fluid of our earth,)
Throws a decorum round his spell-bound mirth,
That limits gladness with a pure controul,
And chains the effervescence of the Soul !
That, which in coarser spirits nurtures pride,
With him is dignity and ease allied—

Like the young May, mid issuing sweets, he rose—
 His mien enhances what his heart bestows—
 Love warms his pulses with a gen'rous fire,
 While Science sheathes the fury of desire !—
 He thinks of man, as those who've frailties ought,
 And his chaste language dulcifies that thought—
 Calm Pleasure breathes her influence o'er his day,
 And Virtue hails the moral of his lay :
 A Christian hero, and the foe of Strife,
 The slave of Honor and the grace of life !—
 The wiles of POLICY should ne'er efface
 That cheap suavity man owes his race ;
 Electric charm, that keeps the Passions even,
 And gilds our antics, till we soar to Heaven !

Like *Marius* peeping through *Minturnian* reeds,
 Begrim'd, yet arrogant with daring deeds,
 Crouch'd royal T—cy, behind Treason's bier,
 Warming with hate, then shivering with fear :
 A *Factionous* *ague*, varying his woes ;
 Inflam'd at noontide, and at midnight froze !
 Thus the man murmur'd :—Fortune, pest of Hell,
 Inconstant wench—Ah ! *Horace* knew thee well,

I'll snatch the bandage from thy darken'd eyes :
Look at thy Slave !—be kind—for once be wise :
If there is truth in *Sallust*, Catiline
Was but a partial sacrifice of thine—
Survey my *royal* friends, thou potent witch :
Some demi-damn'd, while some are in a ditch :
Our immature *Noblesse*, from Reason scud,
Wriggling, like tadpoles, through a stagnant mud :
Lo, where his Grace of Br——e, maudlin sits,
Dead to young Joy,—A bankrupt in his wits :
Monarchic Raven !—Cause, without effect ;
Like prophet BROTHERS, he's outliv'd his sect—
Laid up in ord'nary, behold his Trunk,
Gnaw'd by Care's worms, tho' caulk'd with *British* junk.
His topmast struck—His timbers all bespoke—
His cable shorten'd, and his anchor broke :
Like Attic portals, by the Gazer seen,
His ruin merely proving he has been !—

When SANDY shiver'd him, ambition scowl'd ;
Folly was jubilant and Treason howl'd :
Then mammoth JEFFERSON rose up to pow'r :
Truth rear'd her crest, and Schism moan'd our hour !

Our Faction's awe-struck—Guilt has done his part :
Th' arterial blood is banish'd from the heart,
The G—w—ds weep and doze, but cannot think :
And TIM, his Holiness, is lost in drink :

Boston, that royal hot-bed of the States,
Now sinks in grief—now menaces the Fates :
Ot—s, mellifluous Ot—s, cannot please :
His silver accents only charm the Breeze :
The flood is past, that fed our moon-drawn tide,
And Sorrow's ebb, reduces mortal pride.
Regard our minions perishing by scores ;
The Party's offals rot on Freedom's shores !

The gentle G—RN—R, in tears came next,
Becloath'd in sables, sulky, sad and vext,
Eager to prattle—A meek, kindly soul ;
In his right hand he flourish'd forth a scroll :
In imitation of the Conscript Sires :
Feeling their foppery, but not their fires ;
A sign of eloquence, thus Art opines,
The inarticulate must deal in signs :
Making the obsequies of Death a joke,
(Ah ! had he *thought*, as often as he *spoke*)

With air facetious neutraliz'd the gloom,
A very *Petit maitre* at the tomb!
Smirk'd, sigh'd and snivell'd to his *Royal* Clan,
Took his rappee, then hemm'd, and thus began.
Decking his verbiage in tinsel charms,
While Syntax frown'd in anger and in arms :—
“ Go, ALEX, mid the spirits of the brave,
While *royal* tears, embalm your *royal* grave :
Tulip of Federalism—germ of Pride ;
By Britain bolster'd, and to Grace allied ;
Inform me, by next post (to ease my woe)
If there's an Aristocracy below !—
Don't peep above thy bourn, my splendid friend,
New England's gone—our treason's at an end :
Nor Bank-civilities—nor English gold,
Could bribe the Yankeys—They will not be sold :
The Priest is muzzled and the Dolt's in dread :
The MONK is mute, and FISHER's gone to bed !
E'en hacknied C—lc—n's breast pumps up a sigh
And begs forgiveness as he pens the lie !
Like foul Arachne, savage, lean and dire,
Coils Anglo-D—NN—E, pregnant with his ire :

Th' impoison'd web in which he spits and crawls,
Extends from Delaware to James's walls:
Whence PITT electrifies his Reptile's blood,
And gives him impetus to murder good!
Transfuses venom cross the troublous deep,
While all the Muses stare, and wond'ring weep:
Why am I thus? the snivelling Bardling cries:
(Ah why! Parnassus' echo, shrill replies:)
Those Gods are false in whom I put my trust;
P—CK—G's craz'd, and HAMILTON is dust:
J—Y's in his second childhood—R—SS is nought:
And CH—SE is wasting in obtrusive thought:
I've made the institutes of Right a jest:
I've strew'd vile fæces o'er my natal nest:
I've stain'd that honor which upheld my youth:
I've varnish'd Sophistry and slaughter'd Truth.
He had said more....but Reason in affright,
Call'd Shame to sweep him in eternal night!
Oblivion bring thy thickest blanket here:
Send Ocean's pail to catch this gushing tear:
Give me the Doldrums—marry me to Strife:
Abridge my pangs and antedate my life:

Our FACTION once, amaz'd the sense of man,
 Like proud Palmyra, ere its woes began.
 What are we now? The intimates of Scorn,
 Mere dust and ashes, trdden and forlorn!
 How careless mortals scud from day to day,
 Nearing their ruin—miserably gay:
 Swilling pestif'rous draughts from Circe's cup—
 Sucking, like amber, worthless gew-gaws up—
 Growing more vile, by each succeeding feat—
 Strap me to Neptune's car and bathe me sweet;
 Why are we heard, but voluble in groans?
 Mad in our deed—The *virus* in our bones—
 The Devil take *Deucalion* and his stones.

Then J—y began, in moralizing strains,
 And thus pourtray'd the circle of his pains:
 With retrospective horror, wild and hot,
 He spit enigmas, thick as PREBLE's shot.
 Pride warms that breast, which Reason should have
 cool'd:

I rul'd a State, but now alas, am rul'd:
 The Bible, which I read (a long time past)
 Makes the last first, and then the first, makes last:

*That which was, what is it? shew,
That which it was, it is not now!
To be what 'tis, is not to be, you see:
That which is not, shall yet a being be!
All Nature's in a dance, at Ruin's rout,
Where some cut in the jig, while some—cut out!
Should these salt drops roll down my cheek, by scores,
Who's breath'd in Courts—Who's op'd St. James'
 doors,
And supp'd with Honorable—sons of w——s?
Whom GRENVILLE took so often by the fist:
Who Kings have prais'd and Countesses have kist?
Who sign'd a cov'nant that had ne'er been read,
And sold our rights to prove myself—well-bred.—
There's L——s, chair'd, our point of gubernation:
And Liberty has nail'd him to the station:
For Delicacy's stage he ne'er was book'd—
Like a ship's elbow, knotty, hard and crook'd,
He binds the flimsy scantlings by his toughness;
And draws his vulgar value, from his roughness:

* A free rendering of the Latin motto, to Gen. Hamilton's character.

While I, the pink of kindness, roam, at large,
 He banquets daily at the public charge!—
 My heart gets less and less—my ills increase :
 Coerce my Torments—Bid my Sorrows cease :
 Transform me into hose, to smoke and rot
 Round rancid feet, when Summer's suns are hot :
 Fix me, like Turkies, to some ice-bound spot,
 That Dolts may shoot me, for six cents a shot :
 Make me a rudder, in the eastern seas,
 For Lubber's paws, to misdirect and tease :
 My hour-glass lags—My occupation's gone,
 What once was day, is now a *dies non*!

Hear ELL—T chatter, like a peevish Pie ;
 Though all his argument is, I, I, I !
 He seems t' insinuate good as in despite,
 A *Pye-bald Patriot*, neither black nor white!

Hark! 'tis the recreant MONK—"Plagues mark
 that hour,
 When I was tainted with a lust of pow'r :
 Tie Liberty upon the rack of Wrath—
 Go deluge JEFFERSON, with Fed'ral froth—
 Each eye-ball now is starting from its sphere :
 "Holy Saint Francis, what a change is here."

Now all's hypocrisy!—'Tis Rudeness braves,
 And *morals* suffer most from *pious* knaves:
 Who is *good-natur'd* in his social deeds?
 Not him who fattens, but the Dolt who bleeds!
 Men rail at duels, with self-saving sneers,
 And wrap their cowardice in christian fears!

Th' uncrested P—ck—y, marvellous and wan,
 In elegiac tone his ills began,
 Like the sad accents of a dying swan! }
 How man, in goodness, *should* his time employ—
 How frail's the tenure of a Faction's joy!—
 Not twenty moons ago our Party's chain,
 Ran, link in link, from Georgia into Maine:
 While HAMILTON, with necromancy warm,
 Issued from central York, the apt alarm; }
 To freight, with *royal spells*, our *iron* charm.
 Then in big bulk, we flounder'd, at our ease,
 As the Leviathan deforms the seas;
 In one vast compact body, firm we lay,
 Like icy masses in the frozen bay;
 Impeding the *free* commerce of the land,
 Condens'd, though hideous—terrible, though grand:

At length the radiant force of Virtue gleam'd,
Darted her fires and thaw'd us, as she beam'd:
Till a deep crash, like Ruin's mandate rose,
Marking our dissolution, and our woes;
The tide of Reason undermin'd our state,
Till its full influence had fix'd our fate:
Our fragments, then upheav'd from Treason's mud,
In wild despondence floated down the flood;
Unpatroniz'd and vagrant, torn from power;
Melting tow'ards *nothingness*, in every hour!
Oh miserable man! thus vain to be;
"Seeing, what I have seen, seeing what I see."
How streams of Misery shove us to Despair:
My ills, last week, would make a Stoic swear—
Last Monday night, I lost my Steed!
Virginia has no better breed:
Last Tuesday night, I lost my Cousin:
Now Death has all—I had a dozen!
Last We'nsday night—I lost my Brother!
Fate cannot send me—such another.
Last Thursday night, my Mistress died:
No *Co.* have I!—I should have cried:

Last Friday night, I lost my credit;
(The British Faction made and fed it):
Last Saturday, I lost my Friend,
My anguish ne'er will have an end!
Last Sunday night, I lost my wits,
And now I weep and laugh, by fits:
Can any have misfortunes worse?
I'm really sorry for—*my Horse!*

Connecticut's high Pope, and royal guide,
With a smear'd manual lying by his side:
His keen eyes dimm'd with Sorrow's salted stream,
First kick'd his wig, and then began his theme.
(While abject NOAH, dying by degrees,
Peep'd through the outer key-hole, on his knees.)
Ere the Tiara, mock'd me, in a vision;
Ere I became the point of men's derision:
In artless minstrelsy I pass'd my youth,
And sung of Canaan, and the age of Truth;
When tribes in heaven and honor plac'd their trust;
When Priests were *poor*, and even Jews were just!
In my adolescence, like some coy maid,
Of man, but more of Flattery afraid;

In deeds of innocence I pass'd my days ;
 At Guilt I trembled, and I blush'd at praise ;
 In holy maidenhood I meekly grew,
 Eschewing Satan and his flaunting crew—
 Ere lust of pow'r had made me sick and vain ;
 Ere Pride had warp'd the timbers of my brain :
 And led me, like a vig'rous ram, to be
 Select and branded with a huge D. D.—
 Where is our ROYAL FACTION :—who can tell ?
 Maim'd in Contempt's incurable Hotel !
 The DEADLY SEVEN, who held this State in fetters,
 By Sin are spotted o'er, like Pests in tetter :
 Truth holds them down to answer for her woes,
 As Dustan held the Devil by the nose !—
 ALL—N is bilious—SM—TH is in a trance,
 And curst St. Vitus teaches B—CE to dance.
 ED—M—DS is dwindling with a *cholera morbis* ;
 And D—GG—r's sent to York for DOCTOR FORBES :
 Our plots'gainst human rights have been unravell'd ;
 And both the G—CH—s are sorely gravell'd—
 I, who was mounting up Ambition's sky,
 The great High Priest of every thing that's high :

Like an immense Balloon, admir'd and rare,
 Till ABR'AM smote the flatulent affair,
 Open'd the valve and let out all the air!
 Damn'd may he be, for this unhallow'd deed;
 Let no church welcome him, or eke his seed:
 May all deny him bev'rage in his thirst;
 Be he by man and magistrate accurst:
 Emasculate him and unstring his reins:
 Hide the catholicon when he complains;
 Monks heap hot coals upon the Casuist's head,
 And u—e, on his ashes, when he's dead.

Rapt in a reverie of sickly doubts,
 Th' egregious E——r prattles, prates, and pouts;
 With *ambo-dexter* rights and wrongs opprest,
 The Incubus sits heavy on his breast;
 With spleen and eccentricity accurst,
 In plaintive numbers thus he swell'd and burst.
 Like twilight gleams I glimmer on the sight,
 Ling'ring towards day, but sinking into night:
 To King or Freedom never to be fixt;
 A Friend to neither, but a *Thing* betwixt;
 A vocal Dipthong, true to neither house;
 A Bat of Faction, neither bird nor mouse:

A vain Camelion, fraught with varying pow'r,
 To take the tint which Folly gives the hour:
 When, in presumptuous mood, I'm waxing hot,
 Keen RANDOLPH rakes me with an attic shot:
 Then I exclaim, in Terror's dulcet tone,
 Take me Dubiety, I'm all thy own—
 Bear me, while breathing, from this dreaded fray:
 Fold me in cotton for some safer day—
 What's Virtue but a name?—we're all enslav'd:
 Lo! the worn Vet'ran,* begs of him he—sav'd!

* *The VETERAN of '76.*

WHEN the tyrants of Britain, with fury oppress'd us;
 And the States shook with terror, our foes so distress'd us;
 We girded our swords on, while WASHINGTON bless'd us,
 And for this I have curses and rags for my ration :—*Date obolum Belisaris.*
 Ah! give a cent to a Soldier of the nation.

I drove the fierce legions from *Lexington* village,
 With arms, forg'd with zeal, from the ploughshares for tillage;
 Gave our Country to hope—sav'd your houses from Pillage.

At fam'd *Bunker's Hill* our best patriot's assembled,
 And thunder'd our vengeance till Tyranny trembled
 Then honor gave law, and none honor dissembled.

At *Monmouth*, by day break, we all got in motion,
 And spik'd up their cannon, and spoil'd their devotion;
 While the Rivers, all blood stain'd, ran scar'd to the ocean.

At fam'd *Saratoga*, we BURGOTNE confounded,
 Where even the Savage, look'd pale and astounded,
 But we play'd *Yankey Doodle* and had them surrounded.

I was not born to follow Reason's track ;
 I, when I please, take Wisdom's sails aback :
 I, can teaze Pallas, on her mental throne ;
 In short, I'm, I—I am myself alone !

Then mouths, by myriads, bellow'd in the air,
 In one dire burst of horrible despair :

At *York Town*, when France came, our rights to restore us.
 We made stout Cornwallis, for quarter implore us,
 While Tarlton and he laid their swords down before us,

I lost my right eye, in defending your glory :
 I lost my firm leg, in destroying a Tory :
 Then the air sung my praises, but that's an old story.

Yonder Federal Lord who looks down so disdainful,
 Got his wealth, like a knave, from our tickets so gainful ;
 But Oblivion step in, for that thought is too painful.

Are we born to do good, and that good to be hated ?
 Are we innately slaves, or with Liberty sated ?
 Why are heroes in trouble, by insolence bated ?

What is man ?—what are rights, but a thing and a dream, Sir ?
 What is joy, but a flash, o'er the mind, like a gleam, Sir ?
 Who'd believe that *I was*, who could see what *I seem*, Sir ?

With a heart that Ingratitude's cleft to the core, Sir,
 With a spirit, that once you were proud to adore, Sir,
 I must wander, an Outcast, from door unto door, Sir.

Oh, my God ! by whom all mortal woe is assuaged ;
 Who shelter'd the Lamb when fell cruelty raged ;
 Keep the pitiless storm from a head that's so aged ;
 For here I have curses and rags for my ration ;—*Date obolum Belisaris.*
 Ah give a cent to a Soldier of the nation !

A. P.

The hideous yell of many tongues began,
To call on Pity, like a prostrate clan :
Thick as the miasm in the solar blaze ;
Thick as the hands applaud, when BERNARD plays ;
Thick as glad mobs to see a storm-torn wreck :
Thick as March-wafted dust on Boston neck :
Thick as the questions in a crowded stage :
Thick as the curses from a Priest, in rage :
Thick as the insects flit in Ruin's flame :
Thick as the slanders float round Honor's name :
Thick as the rice-stalks in the damp savannah ;
Thick as the Coxcombs buz round peerless Anna.
While the malignant Passions urg'd their slaves,
And Mercy frown'd upon the shudd'ring knaves.
So many bosom-rending, heart-drawn sighs ;
Such tides of mis'ry issuing from the eyes :
Yet all for *pride*, and none for *virtue* given,
Provok'd the vengeance of observing Heaven :
Who breath'd, in ire, th' incontinent decree ;
And bade their human powers cease to be.
Swift as Aurora's gleam pervades the sky—
Rapid as Malice bears th' envenom'd lie,

T' ingulph the fated virtuous in despair—
 Fleet, as the livid Lightning cleaves the air :
 A sweeping Metamorphosis ensu'd,
 And chang'd the functions of the sniv'lling brood,
 Reptiles and Animals, bore DICKS and NEDS,
 And shrunk (dishonor'd) with the souls of FEDS!
 ELL—T, the egotist, (of largess bulk'd)
 Chang'd (not degraded) as a *Magpie* talk'd—
 The belching LUTHER dwindled to a *Leech*,
 And PARK a *Gnat* upon Apollo's breech—
 The DEADLY SEVEN, who've pertinacious strove,
 To shut *Connecticut* from social love :
 Who stalk'd o'er Honor with tyrannic aims,
 Smote the scarr'd Soldier, and effac'd his claims ;
 Were turn'd in rav'nous *Sharks*, to nurture pain,
 And massacre weak Gudgeons in the main ;
 While, as their *Pilot-fish*, stern T——Y rode
 To snuff the scent, and lead them on to blood !
 Hugh E—Y was transmuted to a *Mouse* :
 Th' unmanner'd *Beast of Groton* to—a *Louse* :
 OT—S, a *Humming-Bird*, on Daphne's tree,
 And kingly RUFUS to a *fleur de Lis* :

D——R, a *lusus naturæ* in growth,
 Nor this, nor that, but something between both :
 H——LB——T, a *Parrot*, Vanity had caught,
 Prattling the obloquy, that Treason taught—
 COLEMAN a *watch-dog*, Fallacy had gain'd,
 Eager to bark and fond of—being chain'd—
 FEZZY (twas possible) became diminish'd
 To a *Musquito*, and the labour finish'd !
 The rest were damn'd, in heaps, to endless pain,
 And Virtue took her station, once again !

THE FEDERAL EPITAPH.

WE WERE WELL :

WOULD BE BETTER,

AND HERE WE ARE !

Heu, quam difficilis gloriæ custodia est !

Nosce Teipsum—.Bon soir, mon ami—Och hoan, och hoan !

NOTES.

In other times, when the intolerant mother Church assumed a power over the temporal concerns of the laity, and dreaded an exposure of their malefactions, the saving axiom *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* was inserted in their monastic legends, as a significant memento to the Biographer and the Historian. For this doctrine we do not profess an implicit regard—if all who write of the dead, were to obey this mandate, the proud incentive to do right would lose much of its force, and the moral dignity of the christian hero, be confounded with the turpitude of an ungenerous ambition. A MECÆNAS and a HEROD would be equally respected, and the beneficent and the malevolent be common strangers to infamy.

In Europe, the characters of the conspicuous dead, were wholly dependent upon the will and prejudices of the sovereign, whatever might have been the pretensions of the individual under consideration. In Britain, they are not more tender towards the living, who may have the virtuous firmness to oppose the diabolism of the Premier. Under the present benign government of America, those fetters of the mind are not known; the *sedition Bill* has been expunged with national execration, and the malversation of John Adams's tadpole nobility shall have no more quarter from us, than the mechanic or farmer, *whom they* spurn, and would put in chains, if they could procure another "reign of terror!"—Nay, start not, *Old Lady of Dedham*, the asseveration is just, and you shall be answerable for your arrogance and hypocrisy—you shall be tied upon the fatal wheel of your party, and made to repent in volumes of prayer, your offences to liberty and your country; while *Hume*, in ghastly terror, is creeping to administer the *royal unction*!

It is difficult to ascertain by which extreme of action, the reputation of a public character suffers most, excessive censure or excessive praise. If the question was

at issue before our imperfect judgment, we should not hesitate to declare, that a violent inadequacy of praise was the more pernicious—

“Praise undeserved, is satire in disguise.”

Excessive censure will always bring the motives of the reviler into question, and can have but a limited effect with any, but the unthinking or malicious part of mankind; as the virtuous and the intelligent avoid extremes, and even the partial effect it has produced, will die away before the progress of observation. But excessive praise leaves the images it forms, with a more indelible character, not subject to an increasing charity of opinion, but an increasing spirit of ridicule. This prefatory remark has forced itself upon our adoption, from perusing the various over-charged accounts, relating to this unfortunate gentleman. The several authors of these eulogies, seem to have vied with each other in the point of immoderation, so much, that an unbiassed reader in some future day will not precisely know whether it was originally intended that he should be merry or forlorn, at such a disproportioned commixture of fury and fanaticism—of raving and melancholy! Putting his absurd panegyrist aside, we shall cursorily investigate his pretensions to a high niche in the stations of fame, and cheerfully allot him as much honour as his memorial can legitimately endure.

In extinguishing these rival blockheads, it is very far from our inclination to tread with rudeness over the ashes of Gen. HAMILTON. We are not among the admirers of iucivility towards the living, much less towards the dead; but the floods of adulation, respecting his merits, have been so extravagant and so puerile, that the letter of truth has been nearly obliterated in the deluge. It is to restore that character, that we offer this brief commentary. We do not mean, in imitation of the writers among the *Royal Faction*, to expose the nakedness of his infirmities to the vulgar eye, because his political principles and ideas of civil right were in opposition to our own; we will not exhibit those lapses from virtue, as his exclusive imperfections, which are incidental to our frail agency—we will not dance around his urn, in brutal triumph, because the *residuum* it contains, was heretofore as much fraught with weakness as ourselves. Far be such conduct from our adoption—we disdain to pervert a discussion on departed merit, into a channel for the display of personal revenge against existing worth; or, like that obsequious advocate for despotism, who edits the “*Port Folio*,” meanly court a dirty tribute from the tyrants of the Old World, by uttering a coarse anathema against a greater man than himself, (Mr. Duane) whose offending towards the aristocracy, has been evinced in a constant regard for the liberties and felicity of his fellow-men. If this monarchical bigot should be disposed to walk among the tombs in future, we hope that he will suppress his native bitterness of spirit, and curb his ostentatious gesticulation. We have no objection to his becoming an actor for the advancement of his fortune, but on so seri-

ous an occasion as the funeral of a friend, it ought to bear the aspect of a *Sacred Drama*, and not the *Farce of a Party*!

It is impossible to peruse the ensuing heterogeneous mingling of distorted encomium, self-congratulation and daring falsehoods, without a smile. The imagination may readily trace the foam of ire upon the lips of this royal zealot; yet Mr. Coleman calls it polished, and, agreeably to Mr. C.'s education, it may seem polite: but if this is polished, we know not where we can look for a rough and vulgar example. The rhetoric of billingsgate, and the snarling of *Bavius*, become charming and liberal on comparison!—But personal scurrility is the only weapon of Anglo-federalism, and they are so familiarized to the prostitution of decency, that they may believe it is classical. The Hottentot does not sicken over his offals, though the rest of the world would. They have little wit and less breeding, and, *if they are not scandalous, they are nothing*!—We will bring these erudite scavengers for the Aristocracy on the scene together, in the fondest embraces, like an affectionate diphthong; or, like two kings of Brentford, complimenting each other, and smelling at the same nosegay!

Our readers will necessarily perceive that the gentle Mr. Coleman is leading the gentle Mr. Dennie on the public stage, and recommending him as a monster of perfection in literature. After this introductory assurance, Mr. D. presumes to aver, that all Philadelphia was so absorbed in tears, that the Schuylkill was elevated with the briny flood of pity; and, excepting the naughty editor of the *Aurora*, every visage was, like Niobe, all tears! The truth is, that the Clergy of all denominations opposed every public manifestation of grief, and very few of the citizens, (as in Boston) troubled their heads about the affair; but Mr. D. is a sort of a poet, and may lay claim to the Parnassian privilege of invention.

“Mr. Dennie having determined to devote his whole paper to the subject, begins in the following elegant manner. This paragraph (says the *Post*) is from Mr. D.'s own polished hand—

“With respect to the city at large, (Philadelphia) its grief has been, by no means, limited in extent, or feeble in expression. Thrusting aside, as unworthy consideration, the rancorous Jacobin, the scoffing deist, the *snivelling fanatic*, and the imported scoundrel, we have heard the voice of deep lament from EVERY SIDE.”

The torrents of blasphemous trumpery, which have been exercised on this event, are of a nature so irrational, indecent and insulting, both to God and man, that, if the authors were in London, they would be incontinently chained down in *Bedlam*, as maniacs who had been caricaturing the attributes, and challenging the mercy of Heaven!—Would not a straight waistcoat, a dark room, clean straw, and emollient correctives, be necessary for the writers and promulgators of the following dreadful and disgusting trash?

"How sad we mourn his loss, how deep deplore,
Our brightest star, that's set to rise no more.
'Till the last trump shall sound on that great day,
When Hamilton—disrob'd of mortal clay,
At God's right hand shall sit with face benign,
And at his m——r cast a look divine.

"Were I asked, (says an apologist,) whether Gen. Hamilton had *vices*; in the face of the world, *in the presence of my God, I would answer, No!*"

"O! America! veil thyself in black—the withered hand trembles in grief—the youthful patriots mourn—their chief is fallen!—haste!—even now he bleeds!—he dies!—catch the stream that flows from his mighty heart, and pour it in thy veins!—Ye hosts of Heaven, assemble thy chosen choir—croud round the celestial throne—raise loud the song of glory—send forth its sound on golden clarions.—Behold, a WASHINGTON and a HAMILTON, again in gladness and in triumph meet.—"

"He has made a chasm which not only nothing can fill up, but which nothing has a tendency to fill up—Hamilton is dead—Let us go to the next best—There is no body—No man can be said to put you in mind of Hamilton."—"The pomp of funeral honours now *canonizes* and *sanctifies* a character which it was the purpose of Washington in one of the last acts of his life to record above all others."

Here are some novel instances of the sublime, of which *Longinus*, *Despreaux*, or *Edmund Burke* never dreamed.—One commands the public to open their veins and pour in Mr. Hamilton's blood—another swears he has made such a chasm, which *not only nothing* can fill up, but which nothing has even a tendency to fill up!—This wonderful assertion might make *Horace* wonder. Here the abstruse question of philosophy, about the possibility of a void in nature, is settled by one dash of the pen—"Let us go to the next best," continues this blubbing *Federalist*, "and there is *nobody*!"—Who this snivelling gentleman means to designate by "*nobody*" we cannot pretend to guess, as it is applicable to so many of his party; yet to call the "next best" *nobody*, smacks methinks more of sincerity, than civility; and the force of the adage, that the truth should not be spoken at all times, is against his prudence, if it will not reduce his authority.

Nor this nor that, they *Nobody* should call,
Th' elastic character so fits them all!

The propensity which has been evinced, by Gen. *Hamilton's* very absurd flatterers, (as they cannot be called friends) to give a theatrical bias and aspect to all that has been done since his premature decease, and even previous to his expiring, has been instrumentally fatal to the honest dignity of his character. They have infused

an extravagance in their solemnities and expressions, which were inconsistent with the sober morals of our nation, and made them participate more closely with a pagan procession than christian rites. The whole of Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS's language and conduct, on the day appointed for the interment of this unhappy gentleman, was singularly ridiculous, and, so far as it respected the interests of religion, extremely injurious. What could be more preposterous than to behold, in a Christian city, and on the threshold of a Christian temple, a man of fashion bestriding the dead body of his once gallant friend, and in the ardent labour of imitating *Mark Antony's* blubbing appeal to the passions of a Roman mob? If the motive for this extraordinary conduct was to swell the posthumous reputation of the deceased, the probable consequences could not be in unison with such a desire. If it was to inflame the bosoms of the citizens against the surviving party, it was cruel and unjustifiable in its application, inasmuch as it was creating a prejudgment upon the lamented proceeding, and pointing forth a victim for popular hatred, before the public law had substantiated the criminality. But, whatever might be the inducement which actuated Mr. MORRIS, we cannot avoid reprobating the mode in which it was enforced. It seemed as the practical display of speculation on the result of general feeling, and wholly incompatible as to time, place, and manner, with the demands of justice, the decorum of religion, and the honorable recollection of the meritorious subject of his exertions.—We can believe them to be sincere, when they deplore their particular loss, in a gentleman of so much ability and influence, but cannot deem them as wise or liberal, when they make their lamentations at the expense of truth, as it respects him, and charity as it respects others.

We have solid evidence to believe that Mr. *Hamilton* wished to introduce an established church in the United States, and so intertwine it with the Government, as to form that odious monster in confederation called the *Church and State interest*, which has proved so baneful to religious liberty in every part of the world where the accursed establishment has been admitted. It was the intolerable persecution arising from this anti-christian system, which drove our ancestors from their native shore, to seek a more generous asylum among the savages of the New World. That Gen. *Hamilton's* religious prejudices were in favour of the establishment of an hierarchy, in America, we can have no doubt, from the manner of his confession previous to his dissolution: he then seriously committed the guidance of his departing soul to a *Bishop*, who is an officer generally partaking more of temporal pomp than holy purity; armed with the imposing insignæ of a crozier, mitre, lawn sleeves, silk toga, and all those gorgeous mummeries appertaining to the pontific family, which are so tributary to worldly grandeur, and so remote from the simple, primitive apostolic character. For the sacred and awful purposes of a death-bed arrangement, we think that an unadorned Pastor would have been as propitious. He would have recom-

mended his fluttering spirit to the throne of mercy, as effectually as the *Ld. Cardinal*, or the *Ld. Bishop*, or any other *Spiritual Lord*, as they proudly and imperiously denominate themselves : but Mr. *Hamilton* thought in a contrary sense, and he carried his veneration for the *Aristocracy* to the mortal bourne !

The following is the correspondence that passed between General Hamilton and Colonel Burr, together with an explanation of the conduct, motives and views of General Hamilton, written with his own hand the evening before the meeting took place, and only to have been seen in the deplorable event that followed.

No. 1.

New York, June 18, 1804.

SIR,

I send for your perusal a letter signed Charles D. Cooper, which, though apparently published some time ago, has but very recently come to my knowledge. Mr. Van Ness who does me the favor to deliver this, will point out to you that clause of the letter to which I particularly request your attention.

You must perceive, Sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgement or denial of the use of any expression which would warrant the assertions of Dr. Cooper.

I have the honor to be,

Your Obedient Ser't,

A. BURR.

General Hamilton.

—
No. 2.

New York, June 20th, 1804.

SIR;

I have maturely reflected on the subject of your letter of the 18th instant, and the more I have reflected, the more I have become convinced that I could not without manifest impropriety make the avowal or disavowal which you seem to think necessary. The clause pointed out by Mr. Van Ness is in these terms, "I could detail to you a *still more despicable* opinion which Hamilton *has expressed* of Mr. Burr." To endeavor to discover the meaning of this declaration. I was obliged to seek in the antecedent part of this letter for the opinion to which it referred, as having been already disclosed : I found it in these words, "General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared in *substance*, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a *dangerous man* and one who *ought not to be trusted with the reins of government*."

The language of Doctor Cooper plainly implies, that *he* considered this opinion of you, which he attributes to me, as a *despicable* one, but he affirms that I have expressed some other, *still more despicable* ; without however, mentioning to whom, when, or where. 'Tis evident that the phrase "still more despicable" admits of in-

finite shades from very light to very dark. How am I to judge of the degree intended? or how shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite?

Between Gentlemen, *despicable* and *more despicable* are not worth the pains of a distinction: when therefore you do not interrogate me, as to the opinion which is specifically ascribed to me, I must conclude, that you view it as within the limits to which the animadversions of political opponents upon each other may justifiably extend, and consequently as not warranting the idea of it which Doctor Cooper appears to entertain. If so, what precise inference could you draw, as a guide for your conduct, were I to acknowledge that I had expressed an opinion of you *still more despicable* than the one which is particularized? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?

But I forbear further comment on the embarrassment, to which the requisition you have made naturally leads. The occasion forbids a more ample illustration, though nothing could be more easy than to pursue it.

Repeating that I cannot reconcile it with propriety to make the acknowledgement or denial you desire, I will add that I deem it inadmissible on principle, to consent to be interrogated as to the justness of the *inferences* which may be drawn by others from whatever I may have said of a political opponent in the course of a fifteen years competition. If there were no other objection to it this is sufficient, that it would tend to expose my sincerity and delicacy to injurious imputations from every person who may at any time have conceived the *import* of my expressions, differently from what I may then have intended or may afterwards recollect. I stand ready to avow or disavow promptly and explicitly any precise or definite opinion which I may be charged with having declared of any gentleman. More than this cannot fitly be expected from me; and especially it cannot be reasonably expected that I shall enter into an explanation upon a basis so vague as that which you have adopted. I trust on more reflection you will see the matter in the same light with me. If not, I can only regret the circumstance, and must abide the consequences.

The publication of Doctor Cooper was never seen by me, till after the receipt of your letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. HAMILTON.

Col. Burr.

No. 3.

New-York, 21st June, 1804.

SIR,

Your letter of the 20th instant has been this day received. Having considered it attentively I regret to find in it nothing of that sincerity and delicacy which you profess to value.

Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honor, and the rules of decorum. I neither claim such privilege nor indulge it in others.

The common sense of mankind affixes to the epithet adopted by Dr. Cooper, the idea of dishonor. It has been publicly applied to me under the sanction of your name. The question is not, whether he has understood the meaning of the word, or has used it according to syntax, and with grammatical accuracy; but, whether you have authorised this application, either directly or by uttering expressions or opinions derogatory to my honor. The time "when" is in your own knowledge, but no way material to me, as the calumny has now first been disclosed, so as to become the subject of my notice, and as the effect is present and palpable.

Your letter has furnished me with new reasons for requiring a definite reply.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient,

A. BURR.

General Hamilton.

On Saturday the 22d June, Gen. Hamilton for the first time called on Mr. P. and communicated to him the preceding correspondence. He informed him that in a conversation with Mr. V. N. at the time of receiving the last letter, he told Mr. V. N. that he considered that letter as rude and offensive, and that it was not possible for him to give it any other answer than that Mr. Burr must take such steps as he might think proper. He said farther, that Mr. V. N. requested him to take time to deliberate, and then return an answer, when he might possibly entertain a different opinion, and that he would call on him to receive it. That his reply to Mr. V. N. was, that he did not perceive it possible for him to give any other answer than that he had mentioned, unless Mr. Burr would take back his last letter and write one which would admit of a different reply. He then gave Mr. P. the letter hereafter mentioned of the 22d of June, to be delivered to Mr. V. N. when he should call on Mr. P. for an answer, and went to his country house.

The next day General Hamilton received, while there, the following letter.

No 4.

June 23, 1804.

SIR,

In the afternoon of yesterday, I reported to Col. Burr the result of my last interview with you, and appointed the evening to receive his further instructions. Some private engagements, however, prevented me from calling on him till this morning.

On my return to this city I found upon enquiry, both at your office and house, that you had returned to your residence in the country. Lest an interview there might be less agreeable to you than elsewhere, I have taken the liberty of addressing you this note to enquire when and where it will be most convenient to you to receive a communication.

Your most obdt. and very humble servt.

W. P. VAN NESS.

General HAMILTON.

Mr. P—— understood from General Hamilton that he immediately answered, that if the communication was pressing he would receive it at his Country House that day, if not, he would be at his house in town the next morning at nine o'clock. But he did not give Mr. P. any copy of this note.

No. 5.

New-York, June 22, 1804.

SIR,

Your first letter, in a style too peremptory, made a demand, in my opinion, unprecedented and unwarrantable. My answer, pointing out the embarrassment, gave you an opportunity to take a less exceptionable course. You have not chosen to do it, but by your last letter received this day, containing expressions *indecorous* and *improper*, you have increased the difficulties to explanation intrinsically incident to the nature of your application.

If by a "definite reply," you mean the direct avowal or disavowal required in your first letter, I have no other answer to give, than that which has already been given. If you mean any thing different, admitting of greater latitude, it is requisite you should explain.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient servant,

ALEX. HAMILTON.

AARON BURR. Esq.

This letter, although dated on the 22d June, remained in Mr. P.'s possession until the 25th, within which period he had several conversations with Mr. V. N. In these conversations Mr. P. endeavored to illustrate and enforce the propriety of the ground General Hamilton had taken. Mr. P. mentioned to Mr. V. N. as the result, that if Col. Burr would write a letter, requesting to know in substance whether in the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, any particular instance of dishonorable conduct was imputed to Col. Burr, or whether there was any impeach-

ment of his private character, G. Hamilton would declare to the best of his recollection what passed in that conversation: and Mr. P. read to Mr. V. N. a paper containing the substance of what Gen. H. would say on that subject, which is as follows:

No. 6.

"General Hamilton says he cannot imagine to what Dr. Cooper may have alluded unless it were to a conversation at Mr. Taylor's, in Albany, last winter (at which Mr. Taylor, he, and General H. were present). G. Hamilton cannot recollect distinctly the particulars of that conversation so as to undertake to repeat them, without running the risk of varying, or omitting what might be deemed important circumstances. The expressions are entirely forgotten, and the specific ideas imperfectly remembered; but to the best of his recollection it consisted of comments on the political principles and views of Col. Burr and the results that might be expected from them in the event of his election as Governor, without reference to any particular instance of past conduct, or to private character."

After the delivery of the Letter of the 22d, as above mentioned: in another interview with Mr. V. N. he desired Mr. P. to give him in *writing* the substance of what he had proposed on the part of General Hamilton, which Mr. P. did in the words following:

No. 7.

"In answer to a letter properly adapted to obtain from General Hamilton a declaration whether he had charged Col. Burr with any particular instance of dishonorable conduct, or had impeached his private character, either in the conversation alluded to by Dr. Cooper, or in any other particular instance to be specified.

He would be able to answer consistently with his honor, and the truth, in substance, that the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, turned wholly on political topics, and did not attribute to Col. Burr any instance of dishonorable conduct, nor relate to his private character; and in relation to any other language or conversation of General H. which Col. Burr will specify, a prompt and frank avowal or denial will be given."

On the 26th June Mr. P. received the following letter:

No. 8.

SIR,

The letter which you yesterday delivered me and your subsequent communication, in Col. Burr's opinion evince no disposition on the part of Gen. Hamilton to

come to a satisfactory accommodation. The injury complained of and the reparation expected, are so definitely expressed in Col. Burr's letter of the 21st instant, that there is not perceived a necessity for further explanation on his part. The difficulty that would result from confining the enquiry to any particular times and occasions must be manifest. The denial of a specified conversation only, would leave strong implications that on other occasions improper language had been used. —When and where injurious opinions and expressions have been uttered by General Hamilton must be best known to him, and of him only will Col. Burr enquire. No denial or explanation will be satisfactory, unless it be general, so as wholly to exclude the idea that rumours derogatory to Col. Burr's honor have originated with General Hamilton or have been *fairly* inferred from any thing he has said. A definite reply to a requisition of this nature was demanded by Col. Burr's letter of the 21st instant. This being refused invites the alternative alluded to in General Hamilton's letter of the 20th.

It was required by the position in which the controversy was placed by Genl. Hamilton on Friday last, and I was immediately furnished with a communication demanding a personal interview. The necessity of this measure has not in the opinion of Col. Burr been diminished by the General's last letter, or any communication which has since been received. I am consequently again instructed to deliver you a message, as soon as it may be convenient for you to receive it. I beg therefore you will be so good as to inform me at what hour I can have the pleasure of seeing you.

Your most obedient and
very humble servt.

W. P. VAN NESS.

Nathaniel Pendleton, Esq.
June 26th.

No. 9.

26th June, 1804.

SIR,

I have communicated the letter which you did me the honor to write to me of this date to Gen. Hamilton. The expectations now disclosed on the part of Col. Burr appear to him to have greatly extended the original ground of enquiry, and instead of presenting a particular and definite case for explanation seem to aim at nothing less than an inquisition into his most confidential conversations, as well as others, through the whole period of his acquaintance with Col. Burr.

While he was prepared to meet the particular case fairly and fully, he thinks it inadmissible that he should be expected to answer at large as to every thing that he may possibly have said, in relation to the character of Col. Burr, at any time or

upon any occasion. Though he is not conscious that any charges which are in circulation to the prejudice of Col. Burr have originated with him, except one which may have been so considered, and which has long since been fully explained between Col. Burr and himself—yet he cannot consent to be questioned generally as to any *rumours* which may be afloat derogatory to the character of Col. Burr without specification of the several rumours, many of them probably unknown to him. He does not however mean to authorise any conclusion as to the real nature of his conduct in relation to Col. Burr, by his declining so loose and vague a basis of explanation, and he disavows an unwillingness to come to a satisfactory, provided it be an honourable, accommodation. His objection is, the very indefinite ground which Col. Burr has assumed, in which he is sorry to be able to discern nothing short of predetermined hostility. Presuming, therefore, that it will be adhered to, he has instructed me to receive the message which you have it in charge to deliver. For this purpose I shall be at home and at your command to-morrow morning from eight to ten o'clock.

I have the honour to be respectfully

your obedt. servt.

NATHANIEL PENDLETON.

William P. Van Ness, Esq.

No. 10.

SIR,

The letter which I had the honour to receive from you, under date of yesterday, states, among other things, that in General Hamilton's opinion, Colonel Burr has taken a very indefinite ground, in which he evinces nothing short of predetermined hostility, and that General Hamilton thinks it inadmissible that the inquiry should extend to his confidential as well as other conversations. In this, Col. Burr can only reply, that secret whispers traducing his fame, and impeaching his honour, are, at least, equally injurious with slanders publicly uttered; that Gen. H. had, at no time, and in no place, a right to use any such injurious expressions; and that the partial negative he is disposed to give, with the reservations he wishes to make, are proofs that he has done the injury specified.

Col. Burr's request was, in the first instance, proposed in a form the most simple, in order that Gen. Hamilton might give to the affair that course to which he might be induced by his temper and his knowledge of facts. Col. Burr trusted with confidence, that from the frankness of a soldier and the candour of a gentleman, he might expect an ingenuous declaration. That if, as he had reason to believe, Gen. H. had used expressions derogatory to his honor, he would have had the magnanimity to retract them; and that if, from his language, injurious inferences had

been improperly drawn, he would have perceived the propriety of correcting errors which might thus have been widely diffused. With these impressions, Col. Burr was greatly surprised at receiving a letter which he considered as evasive, and which in manner he deemed not altogether decorous. In one expectation, however, he was not wholly deceived, for the close of Gen. Hamilton's letter contained an intimation that if Col. Burr should dislike his refusal to acknowledge or deny, he was ready to meet the consequences. This Col. Burr deemed a sort of defiance, and would have felt justified in making it the basis of an immediate message. But as the communication contained something concerning the indefiniteness of the request ; as he believed it rather the offspring of false pride than of reflection, and as he felt the utmost reluctance to proceed to extremities, while any other hope remained, his request was repeated on terms more explicit. The replies and propositions on the part of Gen. Hamilton have in Col. Burr's opinion been constantly in substance the same.

Col. Burr disavows all motives of predetermined hostility, a charge by which he thinks insult added to injury—He feels as a gentleman should feel when his honor is impeached or assailed, and without sensations of hostility or wishes of revenge, he is determined to vindicate that honor at such hazard as the nature of the case demands.

The length to which this correspondence has extended, only tending to prove that the satisfactory redress, earnestly desired, cannot be obtained, he deems it useless to offer any proposition except the simple message which I shall now have the honor to deliver.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

Wednesday morning, June 27th, 1804.

With this letter, a message was received, such as was to be expected, containing an invitation, which was accepted, and Mr. P. informed Mr. V. N. he should hear from him the next day as to further particulars.

This letter was delivered to Gen. H. on the same evening, and a very short conversation ensued between him and Mr. P. who was to call on him early the next morning for a further conference. When he did so, Gen. Hamilton said he had not understood whether the message and answer was definitively concluded, or whether another meeting was to take place for that purpose between Mr. P. and Mr. V. N. Under the latter impression, and as the last letter contained matter that naturally led to animadversion, he gave Mr. P. a paper of remarks in his own hand writing, to be communicated to Mr. V. N. if the state of the affair rendered it proper.

In the farther interview with Mr. V. N. that day, after explaining the causes which had induced Gen. Hamilton to suppose that the state of the affair did not render it improper, he offered this paper to Mr. V. N.—but he declined receiving it, alledging, that he considered the correspondence as closed by the acceptance of the message that he had delivered.

Mr. P. informed Mr. V. N. of the inducements mentioned by General Hamilton in those remarks, for the postponing the meeting until the close of the Circuit; and as this was uncertain, Mr. P. was to let him know when it would be convenient.

On Friday the 6th of July, the Circuit being closed, Mr. P. gave this information. and that Gen. Hamilton would be ready at any time after the Sunday following. On Monday the particulars were arranged, and the public are but too well acquainted with the sad result.

The paper above alluded to is as follows:

No. 11.

Remarks on the letter of June 27, 1804.

Whether the observations on this letter are designed merely to justify the result which is indicated in the close of the letter, or may be intended to give an opening for rendering any thing explicit which may have been deemed vague heretofore, can only be judged of by the sequel. At any rate it appears to me necessary not to be misunderstood. Mr. Pendleton is therefore authorised to say that in the course of the present discussion, written or verbal, there has been no intention to evade, defy or insult, but a sincere disposition to avoid extremities if it could be done with propriety. With this view Gen. H. has been ready to enter into a frank and free explanation on any and every object of a specific nature; but not to answer a general and abstract inquiry, embracing a period too long for any accurate recollection, and exposing him to unpleasant criticisms from or unpleasant discussions with any and every person, who may have understood him in an unfavorable sense. This (admitting that he could answer in a manner the most satisfactory to Col. Burr) he should deem inadmissible, in principle and precedent, and humiliating in practice. To this therefore he can never submit. Frequent allusion has been made to slanders said to be in circulation. Whether they are openly or in whispers they have a form and shape, and might be specified.

If the alternative alluded to in the close of the letter is definitively tendered it must be accepted; the time, place and manner to be afterwards regulated. I should not think it right in the midst of a Circuit Court to withdraw my services from those who may have confided important interests to me, and expose them to the em-

barrassment of seeking other counsel, who may not have time to be sufficiently instructed in their cause. I shall also want a little time to make some arrangements respecting my own affairs.

The following paper, in the hand writing of Gen. Hamilton, was inclosed with his will and some other papers in a packet addressed to one of his executors, which was of course not to have been delivered but in case of the event that happened. As it contains his motives and reflections on the causes that have led to this fatal catastrophe it is deemed proper to communicate it to the public.

No. 12.

On my expected interview with Col. Burr, I think it proper to make some remarks explanatory of my conduct, motives and views.

I was certainly desirous of avoiding this interview for the most cogent reasons.

1. My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws.

2. My wife and children are extremely dear to me, and my life is of the utmost importance to them, in various views.

3. I feel a sense of obligation towards my creditors; who in case of accident to me, by the forced sale of my property, may be in some degree sufferers. I did not think myself at liberty as a man of probity, lightly to expose them to this hazard.

4. I am conscious of no *ill will* to Col. Burr, distinct from political opposition, which, as I trust, has proceeded from pure and upright motives.

Lastly, I shall hazard much, and can possibly gain nothing by the issue of the interview.

But it was, as I conceive, impossible for me to avoid it. There were *intrinsic* difficulties in the thing, and *artificial* embarrassments, from the manner of proceeding on the part of Col. Burr.

Intrinsic, because it is not to be denied, that my animadversions on the political principles, character and views of Col. Burr, have been extremely severe, and on different occasions, I, in common with many others, have made very unfavorable criticisms on particular instances of the private conduct of this gentleman.

In proportion as these impressions were entertained with sincerity and uttered with motives and for purposes, which might appear to me commendable, would be the difficulty (until they could be removed by evidence of their being erroneous) of explanation or apology. The disavowal required of me by Col. Burr, in a general and indefinite form, was out of my power, if it had really been proper for me to submit to be so questioned; but I was sincerely of opinion, that this could not be,

and in this opinion, I was confirmed by that of a very moderate and judicious friend whom I consulted. Besides that Col. Burr appeared to me to assume, in the first instance, a tone unnecessarily peremptory and menacing, and in the second, positively offensive. Yet I wished, as far as might be practicable, to leave a door open to accommodation. This, I think, will be inferred from the written communications made by me and by my direction, and would be confirmed by the conversations between Mr. Van Ness and myself, which arose out of the subject.

I am not sure, whether, under all the circumstances, I did not go further in the attempt to accommodate, than a punctilious delicacy will justify. If so, I hope the motives I have stated will excuse me.

It is not my design, by what I have said to affix any odium on the conduct of Col. Burr, in this case—He doubtless has heard of animadversions of mine which bore very hard upon him; and it is probable that as usual they were accompanied with some falshoods. He may have supposed himself under a necessity of acting as he has done, I hope the grounds of his proceeding have been such as ought to satisfy his own conscience.

I trust, at the same time, that the world will do me the justice to believe, that I have not censured him on light grounds, nor from unworthy inducements. I certainly have had strong reasons for what I may have said, though it is possible that in some particulars, I may have been influenced by misconstruction or misinformation. It is also my ardent wish that I may have been more mistaken than I think I have been, and that he, by his future conduct, may shew himself worthy of all confidence and esteem, and prove an ornament and blessing to the country.

As well because it is possible that I may have injured Col. Burr, however convinced myself that my opinions and declarations have been well founded, as from my general principles and temper in relation to similar affairs—I have resolved, if our interview is conducted in the usual manner, and it pleases God to give me the opportunity, to *reserve* and *throw away* my first fire, and I *have thoughts* even of *reserving* my second fire—and thus giving a double opportunity to Col. Burr to pause and reflect.

It is not, however, my intention to enter into any explanations on the ground—Apology, from principle, I hope, rather than pride, is out of the question.

To those, who, with me, abhorring the practice of duelling may think that I ought on no account to have added to the number of bad examples, I answer that my *relative* situation, as well in public as private enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honor, imposed on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call. The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting *m'schief* or effecting good, in those crises of our public affairs, which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular.

A. H.

The fatal interview took place at Hoboken ferry, in New-Jersey, on the 11th of July, 1804—General Hamilton was unfortunately wounded mortally, at the first shot—He was removed to Mr. Bayard's at Greenwich, where he expired in lamented agonies—the ball had touched the spine, and a paralysis, preceded his death.

The following letter was written by the Right Reverend Bishop Moore :

Thursday Evening, July 12, 1804.

"THE public mind being extremely agitated by the melancholy fate of that great man, Alexander Hamilton, I have thought it would be grateful to my fellow-citizens, would provide against misrepresentation, and, perhaps, be conducive to the advancement of the cause of Religion, were I to give a narrative of some facts which have fallen under my own observation, during the time which elapsed between the fatal duel and his departure out of this world.

"Yesterday morning, immediately after he was brought from Hoboken to the house of Mr. Bayard, at Greenwich, a message was sent, informing me of the sad event, accompanied by a request from General Hamilton, that I would come to him for the purpose of administering the holy communion. I went—but being desirous to afford time for serious reflection, and conceiving that under existing circumstances, it would be right and proper to avoid every appearance of precipitancy in performing one of the most solemn offices of our religion, I did not then comply with his desire. At one o'clock I was again called on to visit him. Upon my entering the room and approaching his bed, with the utmost calmness and composure he said, "My dear Sir, you perceive my unfortunate situation, and no doubt have been made acquainted with the circumstances which led to it. It is my desire to receive the communion at your hands. I hope you will not conceive that there is any impropriety in my request." He added, "It has for some time past been the wish of my heart, and it was my intention to take an early opportunity of uniting myself to the church, by the reception of that holy ordinance. I observed to him that he must be very sensible of the delicate and trying situation in which I was then placed; that however desirous I might be to afford consolation to a fellow-mortal in distress; still, it was my duty, as a minister of the gospel, to hold up the law of God as paramount to all other law; and that, therefore, under the influence of such sentiments, I must unequivocally condemn the practice which had brought him to his present unhappy condition. He acknowledged the propriety of these sentiments, and declared that he viewed the late transaction with sorrow and contrition. I then asked him, "Should it please God to restore you to health, Sir, will you never be engaged in a similar transaction? and will you employ all your influence in society

to discountenance this barbarous custom?" His answer was, "That, Sir, is my deliberate intention."

"I proceeded to converse with him on the subject of his receiving the Communion; and told him that with respect to the qualifications of those who wished to become partakers of that holy ordinance, my enquiries could not be made in language more expressive than that which was used by our Church—"Do you sincerely repent of your sins past? Have you lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of the death of Christ? And are you disposed to live in love and charity with all men?" He lifted up his hands and said, "With the utmost sincerity of heart I can answer these questions in the affirmative—I have no ill will against Col. Burr, I met him with a fixed resolution to do him no harm—I forgive all that happened." I then observed to him, that the terrors of the divine law were to be announced to the obdurate and impenitent; but that the consolations of the gospel were to be offered to the humble and contrite heart; that I had no reason to doubt his sincerity, and would proceed immediately to gratify his wishes. The Communion was then administered which he received with great devotion, and his heart afterwards appeared to be perfectly at rest. I saw him again this morning, when with his last faltering words he expressed a strong confidence in the mercy of God through the intercession of the Redeemer. I remained with him until 2 o'clock this afternoon, when death closed the awful scene—he expired without a struggle, and almost without a groan.

"By reflecting on this melancholy event, let the humble believer be encouraged ever to hold fast that precious faith which is the only source of true consolation in the last extremity of nature. Let the Infidel be persuaded to abandon his opposition to the gospel which the strong, inquisitive, and comprehensive mind of a Hamilton embraced in his last moments, as the truth from Heaven. Let those who are disposed to justify the practice of duelling, be induced, by this simple narrative, to view with abhorrence that custom which has occasioned an irreparable loss to a worthy and most afflicted family; which has deprived his friends of a beloved companion, his profession of one of its brightest ornaments, and his country of a great statesman and a real patriot."

(These ideas belong to Bishop Moore.)

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.—On the 14th of July the remains of ALEXANDER HAMILTON were committed to the grave with proper marks of respect.

On a stage erected in the portico of Trinity Church, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, having four of General Hamilton's sons, the eldest about sixteen and the youngest about

six years of age, with him, delivered to the immense concourse in front, the following Oration :

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

If on this sad, this solemn occasion, I should endeavor to move your commiseration, it would be doing injustice to that sensibility, which has been so generally and so justly manifested. Far from attempting to excite your emotions I must try to repress my own, and yet I fear that instead of the language of a public speaker, you will hear only the lamentations of a bewailing friend. But I will struggle with my bursting heart, to pourtray that heroic spirit, which has flown to the mansions of bliss.

Students of Columbia—he was in the ardent pursuit of knowledge in your academic shades, when the first sound of the American war called him to the field. A young and unprotected volunteer, such was his zeal and so brilliant his service that we heard his name before we knew his person. It seemed as if God had suddenly called him into existence, that he might assist to save a world !

The penetrating eye of Washington soon perceived the manly spirit which animated his youthful bosom. By that excellent judge of men he was selected as an Aid, and thus he became early acquainted with and was a principal actor in the most important scenes of our Revolution.

At the siege of York, he pertinaciously insisted—and he obtained the command of a forlorn hope. He stormed the redoubt ; but let it be recorded that not one single man of the enemy perished. His gallant troops emulating the heroism of their chief, checked the uplifted arm, and spared a foe no longer resisting. Here closed his military career.

Shortly after the war, your favor—no, your discernment called him to public office. You sent him to the Convention at Philadelphia : he there assisted in forming that Constitution which is now the bond of our union, the shield of our defence and the source of our prosperity. In signing that compact he expressed his apprehension that it did not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation ; and that in consequence we should share the fate of many other republics and pass through anarchy to despotism. We hoped better things. We confided in the good sense of the American people ; and above all we trusted in the protecting Providence of the Almighty. On this important subject he never concealed his opinion. He disdained concealment. Knowing the purity of his heart, he bore it as it were in his hand, exposing to every passer its inmost recesses. The generous indiscretion subjected him to censure from misrepresentation. His speculative opinions were treated as deliberate designs ; and yet you all know how strenuous, how unremitting were his efforts to establish and to preserve the Constitution. If, then, his

opinion was wrong, pardon, oh ! pardon that single error, in a life devoted to your service.

At the time when our government was organized, we were without funds, though not without resources. To call them into action, and establish order in the finances, Washington sought for splendid talents, for extensive information, and above all, he sought for sterling, incorruptible integrity—All these he found in Hamilton.—The system then adopted has been the subject of much animadversion. If it be not without a fault, let it be remembered that nothing human is perfect—Recollect the circumstances of the moment—recollect the conflict of opinion—and above all, remember that *the minister of a republic must bend to the will of the people*. The administration which Washington formed, was one of the most efficient, one of the best that any country was ever blest with. And the result was a rapid advance in power and prosperity, of which there is no example in any other age or nation. The part which Hamilton bore is universally known.

His unsuspecting confidence in professions which he believed to be sincere, led him to trust too much to the undeserving. This exposed him to misrepresentation. He felt himself obliged to resign. The care of a rising family, and the narrowness of his fortune, made it a duty to return to his profession for their support. But though he was compelled to abandon public life, never, no, never for a moment did he abandon the public service. He never lost sight of your interests. I declare to you, before that God in whose presence we are now so especially assembled, that in his most private and confidential conversations, the single objects of discussion and consideration were your freedom and happiness.

You well remember the state of things which again called forth Washington from his retreat to lead your armies. You know that he asked for Hamilton to be his Second in command. That venerable sage well knew the dangerous incidents of a military profession, and he felt the hand of time pinching life at its source. It was probable that he would soon be removed from the scene, and that his Second would succeed to the command. He knew, by experience, the importance of that place—and he thought the sword of America might safely be confided to the hand which now lies cold in that coffin. Oh ! my fellow-citizens, remember this solemn testimonial that he was not ambitious. Yet he was charged with ambition ; and, wounded by the imputation, when he laid down his command, he declared, in the proud independence of his soul, that he never would accept of any office, unless in a foreign war he should be called on to expose his life in defence of his country. This determination was immovable. It was his fault that his opinions and his resolutions could not be changed. Knowing his own firm purpose, he was indignant at the charge that he sought for place or power. He was ambitious only of glory, but he was deeply solicitous for you. For himself he feared nothing, but he feared that

bad men might, by false professions, acquire your confidence and abuse it to your ruin.

Brethren of the Cincinnati—There lies our chief! Let him still be our model. Like him, after long and faithful public service, let us cheerfully perform the social duties of private life. Oh! he was mild and gentle. In him there was no offence; no guile. His generous hand and heart was open to all.

Gentlemen of the Bar—You have lost your brightest ornament. Cherish and imitate his example. While, like him, with justifiable, with laudable zeal, you pursue the interests of your clients, remember, like him, the eternal principles of justice.

Fellow Citizens—You have long witnessed his professional conduct, and felt his unrivalled eloquence. You know how well he performed the duties of a Citizen—you know that he never courted your favour by adulation or the sacrifice of his own judgment. You have seen him contending against you, and saving your dearest interests, as it were, in spite of yourselves. And you now feel and enjoy the benefits resulting from the firm energy of his conduct.—Bear this testimony to the memory of my departed friend. I CHARGE YOU TO PROTECT HIS FAME—It is all he has left—all that these poor orphan children will inherit from their father. But my countrymen, that Fame may be a rich treasure to you also. Let it be the test by which to examine those who solicit your favour. Disregarding professions, view their conduct, and on a doubtful occasion, ask, *Would Hamilton have done this thing?*

You all know how he perished. On this last scene, I cannot, I must not dwell. It might excite emotions too strong for your better judgment. Suffer not your indignation to lead to any act which might again offend the insulted majesty of the laws. On his part, as from his lips, though with my voice—for his voice you will hear no more—let me entreat you to respect yourselves.

And now ye ministers of the everlasting God, perform your holy office and commit these ashes of our departed brother to the bosom of the grave!

The oration being finished the corpse was carried to the grave where the usual funeral service was performed by the Reverend Bishop Moore. The troops who had entered the church-yard, formed an extensive hollow square and terminated the solemnities with three volleys over the grave.

Remarks on Gouverneur Morris's funeral oration on General Hamilton.

As Gouverneur Morris is fond of criticising others, he becomes a fair object for criticism himself. Give and take is *fair* play.

In all Gouverneur's harangues, let the purpose be what it may, there is always a great deal of what the players call *stage trick*, that is, an extraneous attempt to excite surprise. Of this kind was his speech in congress on the judiciary bill, when putting himself in an attitude of marvellous solemnity, and holding out his hand in awful position as if he was going to announce the sound of the last trump he cried, "*Pause! Pause! for Heaven's sake pause!*" Heaven, however, did not listen to his call, for laughter followed where he expected a groan.

In his funeral oration on Hamilton he said "*his life* (pointing at the corpse) "*was one of honour and glory.*" This *pointing scene* (like the ghost in Hamlet pointing with its finger) was a sort of *stage trick*, and, in this place, injudiciously introduced, for you cannot say *the life of a corpse*, and consequently not "*his life*," pointing to a corpse. The proper expression would have been, *the life of our departed friend*, but the sedateness of this would have excluded the *stage trick* of the finger scene, and Gouverneur cannot go on long in any thing, without some sort of *tricks*. As to "*the honour and glory*" we'll let that pass. Least said is soonest mended. Perhaps what the ill-fated Duke of Wharton said in one of his last epistles to a friend would have suited quite as well, and made a better impression than this wholesale encomium of Gouverneur.

*"Be kind to my remains; and O defend
Against your judgment, your deceased friend."*

"When our revolution began" (says Gouverneur) "*his fame was heard of before his person was seen.*" This is undoubtedly true if *his fame was heard of*, or prophesied of before he was born; but in any other case it is one of the Gouverneur's bulls; neither is it correct as to the circumstance, for Hamilton was unknown when the revolution began.

Our orator goes on, "*Washington*," says he "*that excellent judge of human nature, perceived his virtues, appreciated his talents,*" &c. This is one of Gouverneur's *sly tricks*, for it includes the idea, that, "*Washington that excellent judge of human nature perceived my virtues, yes, my virtues, and appreciated my talents*, for he appointed me minister to France—and a very injudicious and unfortunate appointment it was.

From hence Gouverneur gets to York-Town in Virginia, where Cornwallis was taken, and where Hamilton had a command, at the head (says he) of a forlorn hope, attacked the redoubt (*a redoubt*) of the enemy and "*was victorious. This occurrence gave us peace*"—Hold, not quite so fast Mr. Orator. Burgoyne and his army had been taken before, and Gen. Greene (the best General in the American army) had triumphed to the southward, and recovered the southern states. But if there is any one circum-

stance that contributed more than another to the capture of Cornwallis, it was the French fleet of thirty-one sail of the line, shutting Cornwallis up in the Chesapeake, and preventing the English fleet taking him off; and in addition to this, a frigate loaded with money brought from France by Col. John Lawrens and Thomas Paine, arrived at Boston the twenty-fifth of August, almost two months before Cornwallis surrendered. This timely supply enabled Congress to go on, and the army to proceed to York-Town.* Gouverneur knows all these matters, (for he was at that time a sort of a deputy financier to Robert Morris) but it did not suit *his tricks* even to allude to them, and therefore he sacrificed them all to the merit of taking a *redoubt*. But Gouverneur is no soldier—he did not lose his leg *in battle*.

From hence our orator conducts Hamilton to the convention which met at Philadelphia in 1787, to form the federal constitution.—“*Here,*” says he,† “*I saw him labour indefatigably*”—for what?—“*for his country's good,*” continues the orator. No Sir. He laboured to establish a constitution that would have deprived the citizens of every description of the right of election, and have put *himself*, and you too, Mr. *Prate-a-pace*, in possession of part of the government for life.

“When (continues our orator) the labours of the convention were closed, he frankly expressed a doubt of the fitness of the constitution to maintain with *necessary energy* public freedom.” Gouverneur Morris has got to learn the principles of government, but he *will* talk about it, for

“*On all things talkable he boldly talks.*”

Gouverneur Morris and others of his description, who have *conceits* instead of *principles*, and *vanity* instead of *wisdom*, are very fond of this word *energy*, but they always mean the energy they are to *act themselves*, not that which they are to suffer. The same persons who were for what they called an *energetic government*, and a president and senate for life in the time of Washington (who was of their own party) would oppose it, now the presidency is in the hands of Mr. Jefferson, and that the senate is no longer of their faction; which shews that those *energy schemers* do not act from principle, because principle, if right, is right at all times. The *energy* of the people has overthrown these schemes, but we do not hear them praise this sort of energy! No! No! It is the energy of themselves over the peo-

* It took sixteen ox teams to remove the money brought by this frigate, the *Resolute*, from Boston to Philadelphia. Thomas Willing, now president of the U. S. bank received it.

† Gouverneur Morris was not appointed to the convention by his own state, for he had lost its confidence—but Robert Morris managed to get him appointed for Pennsylvania, to which he did not belong.

ple that they mean. When the constitution for the federal city was to be formed, Gouverneur's first article was, *There shall be a d—ned strong Jail*. He certainly did not mean it for himself; but had he staid a few days longer in France he would have known what a strong jail was, and energy too, for the committee of public safety had intercepted some letters and they sent a guard to the house where he used to live, to arrest and take him to prison. But fortunately for him he was off, with all his waggon loads of fine French furniture, for Gouverneur knew how to feather his nest.

The constitution being established, and Washington elected president, our orator thus proceeds with his harangue.—“Washington, with whom he (Hamilton) had toiled, and by whose aid he had travelled through every stage of our revolutionary contest—Washington, who saw his *manly struggles in the convention*, and best knew how to promote his country's welfare, called him, under the new constitution, to preside over an important department of our government.”—Secretary of the treasury.

Washington's choice of officers for the principal departments of government, was neither judicious nor fortunate, nor could it be so; for excepting Mr. Jefferson (who had just arrived from his ministry in France, and was appointed secretary of state, which he soon resigned) Washington appointed those only of the convention who had supported arbitrary measures. “*The manly struggles*” (of which Gouverneur speaks) “that *Hamilton* made in the Convention,” and which Washington saw with approbation, were exerted to lift Washington above his fellows, by making him President for life, with a senate of the same description, or something worse. “Here” (continues our orator, that is, in the treasury) “Hamilton displayed all the talents of a great financier” (for) “at this period we had no *credit*, but we had *resources*.” This is putting the cart before the horse, which Gouverneur is very apt to do, for he seldom begins at the right end of anything. The old Congress had no credit because it *had no resources*. The new constitution provided resources for the new congress, and credit, like the cart behind the horse, followed of consequence. Hamilton created neither the one nor the other; but he created an insurrection by his injudicious, vexatious, and unproductive tax upon stills: but this was energy. Our orator next proceeds to the period when an army of fifty thousand men were to be raised, of which Washington was appointed commander in chief by that poor creature John Adams.

“*Menaced*,” says he, “*by dangers from without*” (this is an absolute falsehood with respect to a foreign invasion) “*Washington was called from his beloved retirement to the field*” (that bloodless field where the masquerade of danger was to be performed.) Gouverneur then goes on, “*that great man*,” (who made Gouverneur Morris a great man) “had not forgotten the young hero (Hamilton) who, early in

the revolution had attracted his notice. He viewed him as worthy to be second in command, and he was appointed major-general of our army." As our orator had no deeds of "honour and glory" to rehearse on this dangerless occasion, he closes his account of it by saying, "Washington deemed him, in case of accident" (it must be all accident where there is no danger) "perhaps the *only* man in whose hands, which now lie cold in his coffin"* (this is a paltry attempt at the pathetic) "the sword and purse of America could be so safely entrusted." It is a thing of no consequence to us, what Washington thought of Hamilton when he appointed him to office or command, or what Hamilton thought of Washington when he called him an *old fool*; thank God those times are past and better are come in their place.

As to the danger of which our orator speaks, it marks one of those well-remembered circumstances which shews that the politics of that day were either foolish or worse. No man who possessed a grain of common sense could have supposed that while France and England were engaged in war, especially a land war, that either could spare a regiment, much less an army, to send against America; neither was it ever thought of by either of them. The impossibility of the thing did not permit the existence of such a thought. What then was the army wanted for?

When we consider the parties engaged in it, and know what their politics were, we have a right to conclude, that it was to accomplish by an armed force in the field, what had failed of success by projects in the convention. The chiefs however, did not draw cordially together. Between Washington, Adams and Hamilton, there was a reciprocal jealousy and distrust, and some specimens of hatred; and they were well founded.

Our orator concludes his account of Hamilton's public career as follows:—"He toiled incessantly with manly firmness against *popular zeal*, and *snatched you, in spite of yourselves*" (this is an affront to the audience) "*from impending ruin*."†—If somebody would be kind enough to *snatch* Gouverneur Morris from his worst enemy," his *foolish self*, it might cure his otherwise incurable folly. Experience is lost upon him. In business he is a babe, and in politics a visionary; and the older he grows the more foolish he becomes.

Of civil government he knows nothing; he has yet to learn that the strength of government consists in the interest the people have in supporting it. The present

* When an affair of business is said to be put into a person's hands, it means figuratively, his care and judgment; but Morris referring to the hands in the coffin, destroyed the figurative meaning of the phrase, and makes nonsense of it.

† An orator ought not to take the advantage of a funeral oration, to propagate things which are not facts. Morris ought to prove what he has said or retract it. Funeral orations give no protection to falsehoods.

administration is, for this reason, stronger than any that preceded it; and the next presidential election will show it. Mere politicians of the old school may talk of alliances, but the strongest of all alliances is that which the mildness, wisdom, and justice of government form, unperceived, with the people it governs. It grows in the mind with the secrecy and fidelity of love, and reposes on its own energy. Make it the interest of people to live in a state of government, and they will protect that which protects them. But when they are harassed with alarms which time discovers to be false, and burthened with taxes for which they can see no cause, their confidence in such government withers away, and they laugh at the energy that attempts to restore it. Their cry then is, as in the time of terror ("*not to your tents, O! Israel*, but) to the NEXT ELECTION O! CITIZENS." *It is thus the representative system corrects wrongs and preserves rights.* COMMON SENSE.

ILLUSTRATIVE COMMENTS ON THE CHARACTER AND ADMINISTRATION
OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"Every man sits down under his own vine and his own fig tree, and there is none to make him afraid."

A systematic, pernicious, and fallacious attempt having been made, in the *Boston Centinel*, by a writer under the signature of *Hume*, to misrepresent the principles and actions of Mr. JEFFERSON with a view to disturb the tranquillity of the empire, and introduce a British influence in our councils; we have deemed it, as not altogether improper, to resist this baneful and seditious endeavour.

In offering our remarks upon the moral and political influence of this great and good man, it is our intention to touch upon the more prominent traits of his portrait, without entering upon the path of biographical narration—Our illuminated President of the United States, forms a brilliant part of that Virginian constellation, which has so highly raised the American character, in the contemplation of the European world: GEORGE WASHINGTON, THOMAS JEFFERSON, PATRICK HENRY and JAMES MADISON, will be remembered coeval with Time, as champions of human freedom and benefactors to mankind.

The rancorous pertinacity with which Mr. Jefferson has been assailed, is the fullest proof of his being envied and feared by his enemies; he is a polite scholar, a moral example, a wise and temperate reasoner, and a profound politician—Fortune was auspicious to him, when young, in affording him the glorious opportunity of resisting the tyranny of an elder nation, that had become bewildered with her own vanities, and urged claims, inconsistent with equity, policy or honor; the issue of which was our emancipation, and her own peculiar humiliation—Fortune has since been

equally auspicious to America, in placing the sage of Monticello, at the head of the purest and most potent Democracy, that society ever knew!—We must not be unmindful that his continuance in power, forms the best hope for an utter exclusion of British influence, in the United States: an influence which contaminates as it extends, and, like the circumvolutions of a whirlpool, gradually attracts and ingulphs the object of its action. It may be observed, that we have expressed a solemn dread upon the supposition that England could subjugate France; an event which is fortunately out of all possible calculation: and this dread arose from a conviction, that, in such a case, the liberties of the civilized world would be foreclosed forever; when Europe had been manacled with chains, “they would have brought the *veto*” of despotism to the new world; they would have put out the light, and then all human privileges would disappear, and a political death abridge the force and uses of intellect.

That desperate and traitorous Faction, in the United States, who have daringly assumed the name of *FEDERALISTS* to hide their black designs upon the Federal Union, had taken a position of terror, to overawe the friends to our Republican system. This faction is wholly British, and all its pensioned minions, make the cause of our old Tyrant, their first point of consideration in all their papers. This faction has been systematic in its opposition to Mr. Jefferson, and have carried their libels on his morals and government, to a height of rudeness and malignity, as is unexampled in the annals of political competition; and such as would ensure their ruin, under any other Administration, but that lenient Authority, which they have thus insulted by their enormities. This party are inexorable in their wrath, and incongruous in their aims. They are made up with fragments from the schools of *Alexander Hamilton* and *John Adams*, and although they hold each other in insuperable contempt, and cannot agree, upon principle and esteem, they dare not disagree, from emotions of fear. They become confluent, in their labours to efface the letter of civil goodness, but separate, in antipathy, when that labour has been exhausted. In their unceasing struggles to vilify Mr. Jefferson, they have applied their impositions to the prejudices of Society, and not to its reasoning powers. They have been endeavouring to establish four allegations, with a particular degree of fury; namely, an *imputed impiety*; an *imputed Violation of the Constitution*; an imputed creation of a dominating *Southern Influence*; and *his purchase of Louisiana*, which last event, is sufficient to immortalize him for ruling perspicuity, had not the other features of his government, been correspondent, in sustaining the matchless freedom, dignity and prosperity of his native land.

We shall offer some immature observations, on these rude and unfounded charges, before we proceed to a short analysis of his personal endowments, and qualifications.

MR. JEFFERSON'S IMPUTED IMPIETY.

——— *Thus even handed Justice shall return,
The empoison'd cha'ice to their own lips.*

In the last struggles of the monarchical faction, in these states, we have perceived a spirit of falsehood and malignity, directed against the President, more intolerant, more wicked, and more detestable, than was ever manifested by the bigots of the Roman See, when the truth of reformation was anathematized, as the heresy of the impious.

The adage is common, but uncontradicted, that the Demon will quote scripture to suit his ruinous purposes; thus do the Anglo-Federalists here, in a strain of blasphemous levity, make a wanton use of the name of heaven, to answer the views of personal resentment and political intrigue. As they have been driven by fair and open argument, from the ground of Republicanism, which they had *assumed*, to cover their designs for the destruction of all Republican institutes and measures; they have recourse to the old, stale, musty, worn out tale of the *President's irreligion*, which has been vamped and served up, and is a new instance of editorial dullness and factious villany.

It makes a good and thoughtful man, sick at heart, to hear the cant of *political knavery*, offered and partially received, as a substitute for moral sincerity. It might be expected, in the present state of the civilized world, that the arms of charity would be extended to embrace every description of persons, who had not violated the decalogue, or made an inroad upon the peace or security of his neighbor. Is it at this enlightened epocha. that we are to be called to acts of mutual uncharitableness, because, there is some difference of opinion, as to the best mode of offering our humble vows to Heaven? Are we to be again summoned by the tocsin of the Monk and the Zealot, to cut the throats of each other, on a point of Faith?—Are the flood-gates of desolation to be thrown open, once more, that animosity may have an establishment, in our places of holy worship, and the altars of the Messiah be profaned by the ravings of *political mad-men*; who would use their faith as the stalking-horse of their ambition, and make the ordinances of religion, merely instrumental to the furtherance of their temporal pride? Of all species of hypocrisy, there is none so dreadful, as when bad men are disposed to call on the name of God, to conceal the baseness of their own habits, and perpetrate their enormities under the banners of holiness.

To defend Mr. Jefferson against the force of imputed expressions which were never conceived or uttered, would be an offence to every man, who had discernment: No candid man, could believe, for a moment, that he ever declared an idea, that was injurious to the health of national morals; and, as we are not tributary to a High

Priest, nor subject to the terrors of an Inquisition, upon dogmas of orthodoxy, we presume to suppose that when the Government, comprehends in its protection all the grades and classes of devotion, it has done its duty on this essential point, and that it remains, with the community to fraternize with each other, and consider, that to bear and forbear, is the principle which alone can strengthen or harmonize their condition.

It has been urged, as an objectional point in Mr. JEFFERSON'S character, that he is a PHILOSOPHER! If any person unacquainted with the tergiversation and artifices and diabolism of the Anglo-federal faction was to hear that a Magistrate was to be repudiated and condemned, because, *he was a philosopher*, how much would he be amazed? he would naturally apprehend that the Gothic night of barbarity was to darken society once more, and that all the refinements of humanity were to be abolished and overthrown.

What is a Philosopher, in the unperverted meaning of the term? In the explanation we could talk for seven years, and always in honour of the proud appellation. To be concise, a Philosopher is an exalted being, who makes the knowledge of nature and morality, as founded on reason and experience, his study; and those studies which have no intention towards *improving* our moral characters, have no pretence to be styled philosophical—" *Quis est enim,*" (says Cicero) "*qui nullis officii præceptis tradensis, philosophum se audeat decere?*"—Those speculations (says the acute Bolingbroke) which instead of preparing us to be useful to society, and to promote the happiness of mankind, are only systems for gratifying private ambition, and promoting private interest at the public expence; deserve execration—Of this class was the political philosophy of *Machiavel*; of this class is the political philosophy of Anglo-Federalism, but of this is not the moral or political philosophy of Mr. Jefferson; he has simplified and given an added force to policy, by making it honest, instead of wily; and he has thrown into the lap of Morality, the purest apothegms, of the Apostles and the Fathers, accompanied with the graces of a gentleman—he leaves to adust and melancholy spirits, every privilege to enwrap themselves with the mantle of superstition, and I am persuaded that this Philosopher has no desire to obliterate their tenets or reduce their joys; but it would ill become the head of a free Empire, like this, to prescribe an exclusive form of worship, and copy the example of his predecessor, by labouring to affix a *Pontifex maximus* on his seven hills, and "a nobility in a hole."—This Philosopher feels it to be his duty, to discountenance immorality, but he does not feel it, as incumbent to widen the breaches of religious contention, and lay the bloody seeds of another St. Bartholomew: If Mr. Jefferson could intend to make an illicit use of his great and well-earned influence, he would take those means to effect it, which the Anglo-Federalists appear to recommend; but as his views are wholly and incontestibly patriotic, he looks with disdain

upon those unpardonable struggles of faction, and relies for support and security upon the prevalence of the national good sense, which will admit of no governing distinction, but what arises from virtue and its practice.

*“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right !”*

The raging outcry, against the terrors of what is termed the *modern philosophy* originated in the fears of Mr. PITT's administration ; yet in what leading particulars the modern philosophy differs from the antient philosophy, we cannot devise.—Our natural philosophy is assuredly more perfect ; but as the objection does not rest there, but is wholly attached to the moral philosophy, it is deserving of some notice, to enquire why this objection should exist : but he must be wiser than we are, who can assign an adequate cause. It is in the agency of philosophy to investigate truth, which, in physical cases, is demonstrable by the senses, but in moral cases it is not always so ; but must remain with the judgment to make the best determination it can, and as that judgment is more or less imperfect, from the unalienable tinge of prejudice, and the want of an efficient knowledge of causes and events, the question is too frequently left subject to interpretations, which wisdom rejects by experience, but cannot always invalidate by facts. Some ridiculous stories were propagated about the *Illuminati* in Germany, who, it was loudly asserted, were first to assail the *Church*, in order eventually to assail the *State* ; and this dread might cleave about the feelings of an European Prelacy, who make the word of God, subservient to the purposes of mortal luxury ; but it certainly cannot, in any shape apply to America, where the Ministers of the Gospel, have at present, no national establishment, but are altogether dependent, for their influence in society, upon the soundness of their doctrines, and the rectitude of their conduct ; nor can any divine lay claim to that rectitude who makes his spiritual functions obedient to political antipathies.—If the mild precepts of Christianity should unfortunately suffer, and lose aught of their hallowed effect upon men, it will arise more from

*“Those meddling Priests,
Who vex the quiet world, with their vain scruples,
And make their faith the organ of their malice !”*

than from any other origin.—It is necessary for our preservation and our happiness to uphold the *genuine* dignity of the sacerdotal character, and, we are persuaded, that this dignity will never be infringed or violated by the words or actions of Mr. Jefferson.—We can listen to a difference in political opinion, with complacency, being conscious that the will of the majority, will duly ascertain the point of right ;

but we lose our equanimity of temper, when interested men, would mingle their worst passions with their devotion, and destroy truth, to injure an honorable example. No person can say, in what manner, the President has been detrimental to true piety, which has flourished more under the wing of his dominion, than during any former administration of power; if this fanatical clamour, is imputable to his toleration, of all sects, who demean themselves agreeably to the laws, such silly incendiaries should be informed, that this toleration, duly emanates from his high authority, and from which he cannot depart, without obliterating one of the first and most glorious privileges of the Constitution.—There is some danger that all morality will eventually decay, in this overstrained struggle for the maintenance of forms, and, especially when it is known, that few persons, have had less pretensions to sound sanctity, than these hawkers about an exclusive piety; the greatest part of whom, ought, in strict justice, to be whipped at the cart's tail for their hourly irruptions upon the claims of social honesty!

Mr. Jefferson may be fairly received as a friend of religion in all its peaceful establishments, as he has never been known to countenance, or cherish a spirit of persecution, against any human being for a religious dissimilitude of opinion; if this does not prove his zeal on one particular dogma, it at least demonstrates that he cannot be the enemy of any man, on account of the theological cannon of his adoption, which is more than can be said of many, who have the exterior of saints, without the necessary qualifications of faith, grace or charity to recommend them; but the same despicable cant, the same ungenerous jargon has been applied, by every fanatic to every man, of a liberal and original style of thinking, from *Wickliff* to *Luther*; from *Luther* to *John Locke*; and from *John Locke* to *Joseph Priestley*.

The very mischievous use, which has been made by insidious, hypocritical and treasonable men, to prove that Religion was in danger, under the mild and wise sway of Mr. Jefferson, has been frequently a subject of lamentation, with the real friends of Christianity:—It is notoriously true, that many of the most profligate blockheads in society, have been among the loudest of these canting varlets, to answer the purposes of their dark and crooked policy.—We are persuaded that the cause of Religion has been strengthened by the example and influence of Mr. Jefferson, and that magistrate would be unwise who should have the temerity to relax the force of that reliance which the creature must have upon the Creator, in the hour of calamity.—It is observed by Plutarch, that the Romans, in the virtuous ages of their Republick, had such respect to religion, that they made all their affairs to depend solely on the will of the gods; that even in their greatest prosperities they never suffered the least contempt or neglect of the antient rites and ceremonies, being perfectly assured that their uniform submission to the gods, contributed

much more to the stability and prosperity of their State, than all the successes of their arms—The instances of the noblest patriotism among them are almost innumerable; *Caius Mutius Scævola*, the *Decii*, and *Quintus Curtius* are, amongst others, most astonishing: and during the first five hundred years of Rome, we often meet with characters of the most shining and exalted virtue—but there is an immeasurable distance between a principle of pure piety, and the knavish affectation of that principle.

An attempt is now making in New-England, (after the example of Connecticut) upon those who are believed by the Tories to possess some *serious* regard for religion, particularly the *Baptists* and *Methodists*, to prejudice them against the government, by reviving the hackneyed theme, that *Religion is in danger*.—And what is the amount of their argument on this subject? why that religion is in danger, because Mr. Jefferson in his political capacity *lets it alone*, lets it have its own free course, is not inclined to interpose with his power, in favour of any sect, but is a friend to free, complete and perfect toleration—The inference *they* drew from this, is, that he must be an *infidel*, possessing no regard for religion, and of course, (reasoning Calvinistically) must hate it, and will embrace the first opportunity to destroy it!

The premises from which this sage conclusion is drawn, it will be remarked, regard Mr. Jefferson, only in his *political capacity*, or as a *civil ruler*, clothed with *temporal power*. For, in his *private* capacity, as a *man*, they know that he has contributed large sums for the propagation of the gospel, (vastly more than his predecessor); that he supports a clergymen at his own expence, and that he is a constant attendant on public worship.

Their deductions from his principles of free and perfect toleration, may pass well enough with their own sect (as they mostly consider themselves of a *standing order*), but are wretched logic to be addressed to *Methodists* and *Baptists*. What! religion in danger from Mr. Jefferson, because he wishes it to have a free course! religion in hazard of being *destroyed* by him, because he in his political capacity *lets it alone*, does not meddle in its concerns with the artillery of his temporal authority! Who clothed him in that authority for the purpose of intermeddling in the concerns of souls? The world has suffered enough from the perversion of temporal prerogatives and power to spiritual purposes. The Saviour bled, the apostles were slain, hosts of martyrs perished at the stake and millions have been destroyed in persecutions, from this horrid principle.

If the doctrine were ever to prevail in this country (which God forbid) that the chief Magistrate must interfere in matters of religion and employ the thunder of his power in its concerns, or be calumniated as an *infidel*, what has the *Baptist* to expect—what has the *Methodist* to expect—what has any *humble denomination* to

expect? Could either of these expect to become the *favoured sect*, the *established order*? If they should, one thing is certain—those who are now wishing to alarm them, would *rebel*.—Nothing but mutiny and insurrection might be expected from their chagrin. No, *they* must have the *establishment*, or it will be worse than none.—And on this head they feel secure enough, for both *Methodists and Baptists* are too humble and sincere to have their religion become a fashionable one, a religion of state. Whereas the intriguers are just sincere enough to have *their* religion debauched by temporal power, and converted into state grandeur.

The truth is, both *Baptists and Methodists*, and many other denominations, which might be named, will find their only safety in perfect religious freedom, in the government's not interposing at all in religious matters, but in its *letting those matters alone*, permitting all sects to worship God freely, according to the dictates of their own consciences. And they ought to bless God for the illustrious example which Mr. Jefferson is setting on this subject, in disclaiming a right to intermeddle with religion in his capacity as chief magistrate. His example will have effect for time to come, and this land may long be an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed where the humble worshippers of God may reside in security and peace, and have none to make them afraid.

Look a moment at Great-Britain, for our Anglo-federalists want every thing to be here as it is there. The civil power there has not *let religion alone*, but has interposed and established a certain sect by law. To support the overgrown clergy of that sect, a *tythe* is collected of every individual who improves property in the realm. Baptists, Methodists, Friends, dissenters of every denomination, are compelled by the thunder of the civil power to pay their *tythe* to the established order. And what is a *tythe*? why it is a *tenth part* of all their earning, or of the yearly produce of their farms. Where no compromise is made for money, (which is very frequently the case,) the ecclesiastical collector goes yearly into the possessions of the farmer, and takes the *tenth* hay-cock, the *tenth* sheaf of grain, the *tenth* bundle of flax, the *tenth* bushel of apples, of turnips, of potatoes, the *tenth* pig, the *tenth* lamb, the *tenth* calf, the *tenth* fowl—in short, the *tenth* of all and every thing that is produced yearly. This goes to the exclusive support of the established church. Whatever expence the *Baptists*, the *Methodists*, &c., incur to support their *own* persuasion, it is separate from the forementioned *tythe*, and is a mere *free-will* offering—for the government cares not whether *they* have ministers or no. And to discourage them still more, no *dissenter* can hold an office, civil, military or naval.

This is Old England! and it is perhaps the mildest oppression that ever existed, where the civil power undertook to interfere in matters of religion. Bloodshed, slaughter and extermination have most usually attended such interference.

Baptists! consider of these things. Methodists! consider of them, Universalists!

Friends! all who have a humble regard for religion, say, is it not best for the civil power to attend to the objects for which it was ordained, and not undertake to regulate the affairs of Christ's kingdom, *which is not of this world?*

A late publication makes the number of inhabitants on this globe to be 896 millions. Of these, 226 millions are Christians, (that is, people generally denominated Christians); 10 millions of Jews; 210 millions of Mahometans; 450 millions of Pagans. Of those professing the Christian religion, there are 50 millions of Protestants; 30 millions of the Greek and Armenian churches, and 90 millions of Catholics. The aggregate population on the surface of the known habitable globe, is estimated at 896 millions. If we reckon with the antients, that a generation lasts 30 years, in that space 846 millions of souls will be born and die;—consequently, eighty-one thousand seven hundred and sixty must be dropping into eternity every day; three thousand four hundred and seven every hour, or about fifty-six every minute.

In this mass of people, variegated in opinion, even more than colour there is not one (with mental health) but looks forward, in the awful moment of death, to some supernatural or theological system of relief, when they have “shaken off this mortal coil;” yet they are as divided in their several modes of piety, as in the degrees of latitude, in which they breathe: and even those divisions of thought, are subject to lesser divisions. in prejudice, yet they are all actuated by divine hope, operating in some expressive way—Now, is it the desire of these Anglo-Federal traitors, that Mr. Jefferson should arise in anger from the chair of government and sound the tocsin of carnage; that the Christian should stab the Mahometan, and both extirpate the Jew: and when that work of blood was over, that the multifarious sects, who believe in Christ, should turn with ferocity on each other, and deal destruction around, because one might deem the swallowing a wafer, as a necessary passport to the Almighty, and another might reject the measure?

There can be no question about their endeavour to introduce an hierarchy in the United States, and to give us Spiritual Lords. (as the Bishops are designated) instead of those amiable Ministers, who live and teach in exemplary humility—They want the Tiara and the Pontificalibus of the ecclesiastic offices, and to draw immense revenues, for the support of priestly pride, from the tythes of the industrious Farmer.—The reveuues of the Clergy of France under the antient government, amounted to 600,000,000 livres, or 25 millions sterliug, and maintained 250,000 Clergy who, together with their domestics, &c made more than half a million of idle, unproductive persons to be fed and clothed. The Clergy of France are now little more than the skeleton of what they were. The sluggish monks are banished or reformed into useful men, and the village Curate, has a stipend for his maintenance, that is equal to the purposes of a holy life, though very unequal to the purposes of human ambition.—In Britain, the Prelacy have, as yet, retained all their ascend-

aucy: the crown hangs dependant from the crozier, and a sacred predilection authorises the folly of the nation;—it is a rare circumstance to hear a Bishop illustrate the Gospel, but it is a common event, to be stunned in their House of Peers, with political curses against a rival Power, whose integrity is elevated above the influence of their anathema. What the sentiments of a primitive Christian would be, on beholding a modern *Pontifex*, in full plumage, declaiming on the advantages of war, it is not very difficult to imagine.

The enemies of the government and of Republicanism, are endeavouring to awaken a spirit of fanaticism, among the more credulous orders of our citizens, and make an ideal evil, productive of real misery to the people, and embarrassment to the Executive power. They are eternally insisting that Religion is in danger, without adducing a single instance, to support the deceiving charge. Are those furious and false *Tories*, eager to enforce another massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, and lay the foundation of a proud High Church establishment, in the blood of the Dissenting Sects of Christians? If Religion is in danger, it will arise from the *hypocrisy*, malignity and wickedness of the *Royal Faction*, who are impiously using the name of heaven, as a stalking-horse for the furtherance of their own parricidal designs against the Republican institutions of their country: Who would create the several States of the Union into Diocesan authorities, encumbered with Bishops, Deans, and all the idle train appertaining to an arrogant, insatiate and intolerant Prelacy.—They would drive our modest, and really Christian Clergy before them, as *PITT* oppresses the Baptists and Presbyterians in *Britain*; scoff them with insolence, and make them tributary and obedient to a pampered hierarchy!—This is the latent aim of the *Royal Faction* of New-England, who insult us, with specimens of their *temperance*, by sumptuous dinners at Concert Hall; who manifest their *piety*, by toasts and sentiments, that would dishonor a Pagan, in his orgies; and whose cruelty of declaration has arisen to such a height, as sufficiently proves, that they would banish *charity* and *brotherly love*, from the bosoms of mankind: yet the voluptuous sneering wretches, these political pharisees, will prate about an exclusive piety, who do not preserve more of the outward forms of devotion, than the drunken followers of *Epicurus*!

There is no State, in this Union, so thoroughly hoodwinked and managed by the Clergy as Connecticut, and no Clergy, of this Empire, have manifested so much intolerance and ambition as they have.—This State is the theme of adulation with the Royalists, because it is full of individual proscription and sacerdotal arrogance.—These caballing men begin to totter in their authority, and, in order to support their power, they make an hypocritical howling to the people, about the state of Religion, which was never endangered until they combined it, with an aristocratic, cruel, and dissembling policy.

"Although," says Governor Trumbull, in his late speech to the Legislature of Connecticut, "some *untoward circumstances exist among us*, (by which, without doubt, he means the increase of republican principles, in opposition to the combined tyranny of church and state in Connecticut) yet, says he, the God of *our fathers*, who is also *our God*, hath hitherto sustained us, and in him, while doing our duty, and *walking in the ways of our fathers*, we may still trust for future support."

That people may know what were the ways which those whom Governor Trumbull calls "*our fathers*" walked in, we here subjoin some extracts from the *laws made in the dominion of New-Haven, in the colony of Connecticut at its first establishment*.

"No quaker, or dissenter from the established worship of this dominion, shall be allowed to give a vote for the election of magistrates or any other.

"No food or lodging shall be offered to a quaker, Adamite, or other heretic.—If any person turn quaker he shall be banished, and not suffered to return on pain of death.

"No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, except reverently to and from meeting.

"No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair or shave on the Sabbath day.

"No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day.

"No one shall read common prayers, keep christmas or set days, make mince pies, or play on any instrument of music except *the drum, trumpet and Jew's-harp*.

"No man shall court a maid in person or by letter, without first obtaining her parents' consent—five pounds penalty for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and for the third, imprisonment during the pleasure of the court.

"Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap."

There is not one moral principle in any of those laws. They are a compound of tyranny, persecution, ignorance and fanaticism. Yet these are the ways which those whom Governor Trumbull calls "*our fathers*," walked in, and whose example he recommends, and our false zealots would follow.

Whether a citizen of the New World, derives his pious consolations in trouble, (as all men are religious in trouble) from the pages of the *Talmud*, or the *Sanco-mathon*—from the incense of a hecatomb, or the extravagances of the *Salii*—whether he prefers the canon of *Simon the Just*, or the injunctions of the Nicene creed—If he smiles, with Saint *Jerome*, at the holy romance of the seventy-two elders, or runs parallel in his faith with *Justin*; are points, extremely immaterial to the peace and happiness of the remainder of society, provided the man is scrupulously moral in his transactions. He, who fervently feels and obeys the pure ethics

of the New Testament, must be exemplary, and must be happy ; but that hypocrite who affects a high-toned semblance of holiness, to cover the guilt of his breast, is perpetrating an insult towards heaven ; and weakening those buttresses of comfort, upon which the lofty and the low, will seek to rest, when the storms of life, have abated their arrogance, and restored their self knowledge.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The criminal ambiguity of Mr. BURR, during the last Presidential election, established the necessity for this measure, and the injudicious demeanor of his partizans, since that period, have proved that the measure was indispensable—Among those partizans, was the Hon. PEIRCE BUTLER, who published an indigested Letter on that subject, which might have proved seriously injurious to Mr. JEFFERSON, and the United States, if the public discernment had been less correct—Supposing this gentleman to be honest and erect in thought, we find it perplexing to assign an adequate apology for this mischievous publication.

It is the desire of some men, who may be radically worthy, to aim at singularity, for the purpose of attracting popular attention : and it is the desire of others, to be artfully doubtful, even on the principles of immutable right, to be widely mischievous : but, fortunately for the preservation of public happiness, the discreet voice of the *many*, governs the folly, or the wild ambition of the *few* ; and in despite of the needless agitation which has been introduced by such persons, the points of truth and virtue rest eventually upon a basis which under certain modifications, may exist, in spirit for ever.

The Tories of New England, have made a triumphant use of this mistaken gentleman's letter to the governor of South Carolina, and they vaunt much, on this authority, because the writer is, or was a republican : In retracing the history of the opposition to this healthful measure, we can observe with sorrow, the names of a restricted number of gentlemen, leagued in the battalion of hostility, who have been considered as republicans : and what is more sorrowful, it yet remains extremely difficult to offer a due motive for their conduct ; but we will presume that it was an error in judgment, and not a defection of the heart.

When the deep and lamented atrocity was first developed that led to the framing of this necessary amendment ; it is *possible*, and merely possible, that some well meaning men, might have been deceived as to the ulterior designs of the fallen person, who, unhappily created this singular species of *Iscaiotism*—But after the publication of what is ludicrously termed *his defence* by *Aristides*, those doubts could no longer be effectual : as every human being, with mental soundness, must have been compelled to acknowledge, that such a mass of indiscriminate abuse, could

not, or would not be employed to unpeel and lay naked indefinite causes, which went to substantiate a charge of private treason and public dishonor. It is difficult to aver, from which source, that backsliding gentleman, suffered most; his own serpentine agency, or the fury of his apologist! We are not moved by illiberal antipathies towards this *extinguished* scholar and soldier; we respect his qualifications, in his ruin

*"As he was learned, I admired him!
As he was eloquent, I respected him!"
As he was brave, I honor'd him;
But, as he was ambitious, I slew him!*

As all the monarchists in America contributed at that period, to exalt his name, as a martyr, bleeding in the cause of *order* and *morals*; so are the same party, giving now, all practicable publicity and undue application to Mr. *Butler's* letter: Whatever their real opinion may be of Mr. Butler's policy, they have sense enough to know, that even the honest scruples of a republican, must be advantageous to their endeavors; as the more complicated and crooked, they can render their proceedings, the more they will be enabled to hide the sappings and mining of despotism, from the national eye!

Among the infirmities of human nature, there is a *political fanaticism*, as well as a *religious fanaticism*; and admitting that the opponents to the amendment, do not act upon traitorous principles, they must act upon this weakness—"I like the constitution," says Mr. Butler, "better than the proposed alteration." A fervent patient might as well say, I like my body better than the physic that is administered to preserve that body: In this volley of unprofitable zeal, he forgets to declare, that, contrary to all honest expectation, a *Cataline* had arisen, whose perpetrations had rendered this amendment absolutely necessary to keep the constitution from destruction; and that the great majority of the sister States saw the extent of the evil, as clearly, as the government.—That this *aspiring gentleman*, had his half disguised abettors, sprinkled over the Union, to co-operate in his insidious designs, by intrigue, calumny and menace—That this design has been made abortive by the virtue of the citizens, and wisdom of the executive authority, and the funeral of treason should be accompanied with the tears of the traitor, and not those of *independent* and *beneficent* men.

As this *unwise* letter has appeared, it will be strengthening to the state and complimentary to the perception and firmness of the people; by proving that no species of attack whatever, whether clothed in assumed republicanism, or assumed piety, can divert them from an accurate contemplation of truth and right—That the *extreme fastidiousness of worthy men*, and the *extreme enormities of unworthy*

men, are equally insufficient to cloud the general understanding of the United States. With this gentle rebuke to do away the tenets of a false and dangerous doctrine, we have no objection to let Mr. *Peirce Butler* depart in peace; but as he has blown upon the embers of statistic disaffection, it is not proper that he should depart unanswered.

We do not make any observations on the other declamatory topics which Mr. Butler has introduced, because the public opinion has voted them as illusory. As the crisis of their operation is over, it is our hope that those who have been hurried into the commission of wrong by ignorance; and those who have done wrong, by election, may see the futility of their measures; and strive to obliterate the impression of their mis-statements, by harmonizing with the will of their fellow citizens, and acknowledging the mildness and equanimity of the president—If Mr. Butler believes that he is enabled to maintain the ground he has taken, we challenge him to an investigation of those indiscreet assertions, which he has so laboriously conjured up, from the sea of doubt and trouble.

It has been truly asserted, in one of the Eastern Organs of Aristocracy,* that “such is the misfortune of our times, that there is nothing proposed, however beneficial to the Public in general, which does not meet with strenuous opposition.”—This remark, we are concerned to state, is exemplified but too frequently among us, and is often productive of temporary inquietudes: yet, the very manifestation of the power to oppose, agreeably to the laws, is a sound proof of the existence of our political rights.

An amendment to the Constitution has passed the National Senate and House of Representatives, and is now constitutionally ratified by the several states of the union.—This amendment to the Constitution, is made agreeably to the 5th article, thereof, which provides, “that Congress whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures, of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one, or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.”

The *cause*, which operated to produce that salutary amendment in the Constitution, is recent, and, as a melancholy instance of human infirmity, will be immortal.—When our Patriots and Sages, first met, to create a body of Statutes, for the government of the confederate States, they did not, could not contemplate from any example, either antient or modern, that the possibility existed of one man,

* *Vide Russell's Boston Gazette, Jan. 9th, 1804.*

being so metamorphosed by the force of an irregular ambition, as to sacrifice every liberal sentiment, to obtain a situation, to which the suffrages of his country never intended to exalt him; and be, in the same moment, false, to his own honor, the delicate sympathy of friendship, and public virtue! A nominal apology has been published, in the hope of extenuating the folly and turpitude of the person alluded to, but instead of repelling the charges with direct simplicity and ingenuousness; the writer merely endeavors to make the criminality attach to other actors, in common with his principal; and proceeds to be personal and vindictive. and makes the affair more decidedly disgraceful, than it was, when he commenced his *apology*!

To avoid a repetition of such intriguing frauds, it was wisely proposed to amend that section of the Constitution, which, it was found, could admit the formation of such mischief: this proposal was examined with the deliberation which its importance required, and having passed the higher Legislative Authorities, was submitted to the approbation of the distinct States, where the preponderance of good sense and republicanism, made the ratification almost general.

It must make an accurate observer of mankind, smile, when he sees the different modes of artifice, which have been exerted, to give a colouring to resistance, in this business; and among these artifices, none have been more ludicrous than the reference to prophecy: thus taking upon themselves to predict a consequence, which no authority could disprove, and calling forth the prejudices of ignorance, to assist them, in the hour of caballing, when they could not, with safety to their cause, remonstrate with the reason of the public!—They applied to the imagination, when they could not convince the judgment, and drew upon credulity to accept the notes of Imposture!—In any nation, but this, there might be some danger in the pertinacity of such cunning; but here every citizen is acquainted with the elements of that free government, which he has himself authorised, and knows clearly, how to combine the alteration of a statute, with the imperious necessity, which makes that alteration indispensable.

Many gentlemen, whose admiration of a Republican form of government, is very problematical, have, in the course of their arguments, against this amendment, resorted to France, whose situation they are extremely fond of overcharging with misery: Some talk of the Gallic Cæsar, and usurpation of supreme authority, in such a manner, as to leave no doubt where they wish the implication should rest: but this is ungenerous, as to the portraiture drawn, and bitterly unjust as to the suggestion of a possible similitude.—A Republican member of the Senate*, has truly and eloquently said “that France has not had the opportunity of sitting down, after the overthrow of her enemies, and forming a free constitution, in peace, as we had; it

* General Jackson.

was in the conflicts of faction, excited by foreign enemies, that the state of France was changed."—There is a Power, insolent and hoary in political guilt, which knows, that her corrupt system, cannot remain, if France is permitted to enjoy one interval of repose—and in every Republic, whether cis-atlantic or otherwise, she is diffusing her gold and her Machiavelian doctrine, to shake the purity of the vulnerable; and is ever at her station, to give the watch-word of *Disorder*, when an opportunity is presented by accident, or created by intrigue.

It is far from our intention to be indelicate towards any of the legislative members, but it has appeared to us, that the longer the opposers of the amendment argued, the more confused the subject became: and as several of the gentlemen, alluded to, are not deficient of acuteness and strong discrimination, on other occasions, it seems somewhat extraordinary, that their powers of development should have failed them so wonderfully on this important subject—Indeed had they argued, until the day of judgment, they could never be brought to the conviction of the necessity for a measure, which they, apparently, would not understand!—All Americans were convinced of the danger they had known and felt, of having a President forced upon them by intrigue, who was not intended, by the popular will, to be their Chief Magistrate; and they likewise knew, that this strong act of perfidy, arose from the imperfection of a Constitutional provision: and of course, that this provision, required amendment to frustrate the operation of intrigue in future.—But it is not always convenient for the *British Faction*, to understand the plain tendency of a plain axiom; and, in pursuance of this indirect policy, they brought imaginary evils, in the fore ground of the picture, to counteract the necessity of annulling the cause of an ominous evil, that had existed; and that might very probably, be re-produced, by ambitious and unprincipled men, unless cautionary measures were adopted for the amelioration of that cause. This explanation, we trust, is clear, honest and irrefutable, and must cling convictively, to every republican bosom.

The whole of Mr. *Tracy's* arguments against the amendment, amount, agreeably to our judgment, to no more than a decided disapproval to any alteration, that may make the designating principle of elective action, more palpable and comprehensive. Why Mr. Tracy should express so violent an objection to accommodating the popular capacity, in a point so materially connected with their dearest interests, is somewhat surprising; or why his Party, should endeavor so obstinately to hold that in mysteriousness, which by a Constitutional effort, may be rendered plain and intelligible, is among those labours of a crooked and distempered policy, which savour more of the disappointment of an irregular hope, than the desire to establish the common suffrages, upon a foundation that is unequivocal. He has said much upon the relation of rights and principles, but what is the fruit of this amendment? Why simply and truly this; to make the course of election so clear, that the *principle*

may not be misunderstood, or misapplied in the action, nor the *rights* of the elector suffer, in the confusion of political artifices.

We remember a great man, in Europe, who once said, that he thought the influence of Logic in argument, had done more to unhinge the just purposes of Truth, and Virtue, than could arise from a tissue of prominent falsehoods; and we believe that this idea has been justified, in a wonderful degree, by the complex arguments, which have been used by those who resist this measure: by their adroitly contriving to make that inexplicable, which in an honest meaning, they cannot prove to be unpalatable, or unwelcome to the public.—These jesuitical politicians seem to have much antipathy to plain meanings; if they are not indulged in traverse failing, they are nothing, and if they are clearly understood, they would be undone!

There are others who affect a prodigious veneration for those provisional articles of government, which have received the stamp of time and experience: although that time has been too limited to make its embraces venerable: and although experience has proved that those articles are inadequate to their required purposes.—Such reasoners, or rather such as disport with reason, recal to our recollection, the story of the Sussex Clown, who would go to Church, through a lane, clogged with briars and brambles, notwithstanding the wiser part of the Parish, had made another road, perfectly commodious.—When the Clown was asked, why he should prefer inconvenience to ease: his apology, for being absurd, was, that his father, and his father's father, had followed that track, and he believed that they were full as wise as those who had *mended their ways*.

Such a web of intriguing mischief might have been woven, at every ensuing election for President and Vice-President, had this Constitutional imperfection remained, that it were almost piteous in the majorities of the Senate and Legislature, to obliterate the best hope, which remained for the Tory Aristocracy, and to fix a period for their malicious industry.

As the affectation of possessing an excessive piety, is generally assumed to hide the want of all morality whatever; so is the affectation of these monarchists, for the preservation of the extreme integrity of the Constitution, a political cant, assumed, to hide their real detestation of it altogether.—However we need be under no violent terrors on this head, as it is evident from the result of the general sentiment, as expressed at their several elections, that the people are firmly convinced, that if the Aristocracy had the power to seize the helm, we should have no Republican Constitution at all; and that instead of debating deliberately and wisely, upon the virtuous fallibility of those, who framed our governing statutes or, on removing the imperfections of one provision, we might expect a flagitious proposal, to render the Presidency, an office to be held, during life; in order to feel the pulse of the nation, preparatory to their grand declaration for a monarchy, with all its concomitant pageantry, tyranny, distinctions, and limitless expence.

In our imperfect understanding, the loudest argument which has been used by the opponents to this measure, is the least tenable: namely, that the smaller States, will suffer, in comparison, with the greater States: whereas the truth is, that in proportion, as other States appear; those which are now considered, as the more weighty, in the union, will lose much of their statistical importance, and the apprehended influence will diminish with the course of time.

When any constitutional point of enquiry, may be discussed, among numbers, or become the object of private reflection, it must never be forgotten, by Americans, that they have their own honor, interest, and other advantages, peculiar to themselves, involved in the due support of that Federal Compact, which is the basis of our national strength; and that while they concede, with temperate anxiety to Constitutional amendments, which time and experience, may render necessary; they should likewise resolve, to maintain that amendment against the fallacy and mischief of an interested misrepresentation. Every sublunary establishment, must be mutable, and in proportion as we grow rich and populous, and other States arise, in fraternal competition, the causes of that mutability will increase: under such circumstances, it will progressively devolve upon the Executive Authority, to provide efficient amendments, commensurate with the exigency.

There are political zealots, in most deliberative assemblies, who make the violence of their arguments, an antidote to the mischief of their principles; and by declaring more than subtlety would warrant, call Public Virtue to her post of observation—we refer to the declared abhorrent idea, that *minorities* should govern *majorities*; this announcement is so fatal to popular dignity and universal good, that if any portion of it, is suffered to be intermingled, with a legislative article, the basis of a despotism will rapidly follow. But, in truth, they must be wholly blind, who do not perceive a radical disposition, in many of the enemies to our present enlightened government, to abridge the liberties of their fellow creatures, and make the *many* vassals to the *few*!

It is not possible that the citizens of America, or the reflecting part of mankind in general, can ever forget the past, and paralyzing effects of the Ex-Government; the prominent measures, then pursued, all tended to the introduction and establishment of principles, that were subversive of the genuine spirit of our Federal Compact, about the preservation of which, the friends of that party, are now so raging!—It appears that they are affectedly squeamish, about splitting the hair of a letter of those laws, which must fluctuate agreeably to the necessity of rising circumstances: [in a country which is continually adding new relations to its original form] although, they were ruinously ardent in sacrificing the fundamental elements, of those laws, upon the altars of individual ambition. We had a standing Army and a Sedition Bill, to overawe the timid, and an increasing expenditure and consequent

debt, to allay the hunger of the corruptible, and make patronage, without limits ! It is to the bold indecency with which those measures were enforced, that we are now indebted for an emancipation from all political fear !

The good sense of the People, will readily admit, that no honest man, would wish that instance of suffrage to remain equivocal, in its direction, which could be rendered otherwise, without injury to that system of confederation, which in binding one state with the other, in a common benefit, makes the whole commanding and invulnerable—The attempt to shut out the light, evinces a desire to do wrong in the absence of the powers of discrimination—we have seen many cases of opposition to the proceedings of the government, but have never witnessed any, where the parties were so forcibly compelled to be ingenuous, when it was their duty to be candid ; and to resort to their fancy for an excuse, in stemming the currency of an open fact.

It is a recorded truth, that this measure, which the aristocrats so vehemently reprobate, originated with their own body, during that delusion of the national mind, when they had considerable influence.—It was proposed by the legislature of Vermont, and supported and recommended by the legislature of Massachusetts : Yet those gentlemen, who sanctioned this alteration in the Constitution, four years ago, when a mischievous perversion of the national will, was only probable, have now fulminated against its adoption, although the mischief has been experienced !

We have heard it loudly advanced, that this amendment, is calculated to make Mr. Jefferson, President for Life : If it were possible that this great man could be false to his momentous trust, it is not this amended provision, that could, in any degree assist him in a re-election :—His official support is dependent on the approbation of his grateful country ; and this proceeding only operates to make the path of duty, so clear, between the people, and the objects of their envied favor, that no art, no Jesuitism, in future, can torture, or suspend, or misdirect, the popular inclination.—Mr. Jefferson now rests, more decidedly, upon his ability and patriotism, than heretofore ; and no elector can object to the alteration, who has discernment ; nor any candidate for the primary honors of the State, who is conscious that his integrity directs his action.

SOUTHERN INFLUENCE.

THE tory bloodhounds have been long yelping upon the dangers that may arise from *Virginia* or *Southern Influence*, and to give colouring to this ideal peril, they have had recourse, as usual, to the most flagrant and bitter untruths : But even the letter of their infamy, on this despicable theme, is nothing, when compared with the deep villany that feeds their motives. Their aim is thoroughly diabolical, and goes not only to a separation of the eastern from the southern states, but to create a

CIVIL WAR! to introduce the most deadly antipathies in society, and cut the knot of amity asunder forever! Yet these miscreants have the audacity to call themselves *Federalists*! Good Heaven forefend us from the perfidy of these untractable and cruel men, before whose limitless and unnatural ambition all the gentle considerations of the bosom, and all the nobler affections which spring from the love of our country, fall away and become extinct. They have dared to lift the parricidal arm against the solemn Compact of our brotherhood, our strength, and our glory. They would chace the sympathies from our nature, and enthrone the furies in the heart: they forego the consoling beatitudes of their God,

And sweet Religion make, a rhapsody of words.

We will now examine this assertion, by the incontestible evidence of facts, and prove that these base aspersions on the government are not only without foundation but palpably wicked and unjust. President JEFFERSON has manifested a candour in his nominations to office, which reflects dignity on his judgment. He has disdained to be swayed by a partiality for any particular State, in his enquiry after integrity and talent, but has generally invested those with authority whose fitness warranted the measure. Assuming the *Potomack* as a central line of the Union, we shall discover that his enemies have elevated his character for impartiality, by provoking this investigation of his discernment and liberal nature. He has indulged no local prejudices at the expence of his country's honor or security; his ways have been the ways of wisdom, and his paths the paths of peace. In our opinion he has carried a tolerance of offence, in some instances, too far: no man should be permitted to enjoy an official station, under a mild government, that he would annihilate, in obedience to a British faction, if his powers were equal to his antipathies. The following list of names, acting under the appointment of Mr. Jefferson, will be a complete refutation of all the calumnious roaring about an excluding southern influence:

Northern.—Mr. Dearborn, (of Maine) secretary of war.—Mr. Lincoln, (of Mass.) attorney general.—Mr. Bowdoin, (of Mass.) appointed minister to Spain.—General Hull, (of Mass.) governor of the new territory of Michigan.—Mr. Granger, (of Conn.) postmaster-general.—Mr. Livingston, (of New-York) foreign ambassador.—Mr. Armstrong, (of do.) do.—Mr. Gallatin, (of Penn.) secretary of the treasury.—Mr. Smith, (of Mar.) secretary of the navy.

Southern.—Mr. Madison, (of Virg.) secretary of state.—Mr. Monroe, (of do.) foreign ambassador.—Mr. Pinckney, (of S. C.) do.—Mr. Tucker, (of do.) treasurer of the United States.—Mr. Claiborne, (of M. T.) governor of Louisiana pro tem.

These are the principal offices at the disposal of the President; of the minor officers a majority are federal. "The officers of the navy, also, are in a large proportion

from the *Northern States*, and the same party. All this shows that the Administration are not aiming at a preponderance of local influence: besides, the owners of the funds are mostly within the north, and yet the southern members of congress have in every instance promoted the credit of the public stocks.—But, above all, the secretary of the senate is a citizen of Boston. This department of the National Legislature is the deposit of the secrets of government. If then the Southern members had anything of a private nature, which ought not to be declared, would they give their votes for Mr. OTIS, the father of a man who is outrageous in his opposition? It is evident they trust to his honor and their own integrity. Either the secretary must know improper conduct, and become an agent in the transaction, or his son should be reproved for his designs to excite a jealousy between the states."

"*Virginia Domination* has become a cant phrase among the *federalists* of New-England. As the President of the United States belongs to Virginia, and that State, being the oldest and largest in the Union, and almost unanimous in favor of the republican cause, has of course a leading influence in our national councils, it has become a principal but very despicable object of the opposition, to excite against them the prejudice, rivalry and envy of the northern states, particularly Massachusetts the largest state in New-England. Before we suffer ourselves to be influenced by these insidious arts, let us review the conduct of our Virginian brethren, while Massachusetts and Virginia coincided in politics. To avoid all mistake and dispute about facts, we will take the statements of an impartial historian, Dr. RAMSAY.

The Parliamentary claim of a right to tax the Colonies, was the very point of our Revolutionary contest, and the *stamp act* in 1765, was the memorable occasion of bringing the principle to a virtual admission or determined opposition. "On its being suggested from authority, says the Historian, that the stamp officers would not be sent from Great-Britain; but selected from among the Americans; the Colony agents were desired to point out proper persons for the purpose. They generally nominated their friends, which affords a presumptive proof, that they supposed the act would have gone down. In this opinion they were far from being singular. That the colonists would be ultimately obliged to submit to the *stamp act* was at first commonly believed, both in England and America. The framers of it, in particular, flattered themselves that the confusion, which would arise upon the disuse of writings, and the insecurity of property, which would result from using any other than that required by law, would compel the colonies, however reluctant, to use the stamp paper, and consequently to pay the taxes imposed thereon. They therefore boasted that it was a law which would execute itself. By the terms of the *stamp act*, it was not to take effect till the first day of November, a period of more than seven months after its passing. This gave the colonists an opportunity for leisurely canvassing

the new subject, and examining it fully on every side. In the first part of this interval, struck with astonishment, they lay in silent consternation, and could not determine what course to pursue. By degrees they recovered their recollection. *Virginia led the way in opposition to the stamp act.* Mr. Patrick Henry brought into the House of Burgesses of that colony the following resolutions, which were substantially adopted.

Resolved, That the first adventurers, settlers on this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his majesty's said colony, all the liberties, privileges and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed and possessed by the people of Great-Britain.

Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by king James the first, the colonies aforesaid, are declared and entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

Resolved, That his majesty's liege people of this his ancient Colony have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, or yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the King and people of Britain.

Resolved, Therefore, that the General Assembly of this Colony, together with his majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and imposts, upon the inhabitants of this Colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and hath a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American Liberty.

Resolved, That his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law, or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.

Resolved, That any person, who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain, that any person or persons, other than the General Assembly of this Colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty's colony.

Upon reading these Resolutions, the boldness and novelty of them affected one of the members to such a degree, that he cried out, "Treason! Treason!" They were, nevertheless, well received by the people, and immediately forwarded to the other provinces. They circulated extensively, and gave a spring to all the discontented. Till they appeared, most were of opinion, that the act would be quietly

adopted. Murmurs, indeed, were common, but they seemed to be such as would soon die away. The countenance of so respectable a Colony as Virginia, confirmed the wavering, and emboldened the timid. Opposition to the stamp act, from that period, assumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the Press: some well judged publications set the rights of the Colonists in a plain but strong point of view. The tongues and the pens of the well informed citizens labored in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism. The flame spread from breast to breast, till the conflagration became general.—1 Vol. 58.

In the dispute with the King and Parliament, Massachusetts took an active part. Riots ensued, in consequence of which both Houses of Parliament, by an address, requested his majesty to take measures for transporting every inhabitant of Massachusetts Bay, whom the Governor might suspect to be guilty of Treason, in order that he might be tried, "within the realm of Great Britain, pursuant to the provision of the Statute of the 35 of King Henry the 8th." The Legislature of Massachusetts, against which the measure was immediately aimed, was not in session. The House of Burgesses of Virginia met soon after official accounts of it reached America; and, considering the cause of their sister state of Massachusetts a common cause, set another spirited example of opposition, by Resolving (among other things) "that all trials for treason, or for any other crime whatsoever, committed in that Colony, ought to be before his majesty's courts within the said Colony; and that the seizing any person residing in the said Colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever, committed therein, and sending such person to places beyond the sea to be tried, was highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects." The next day, adds the Historian, Lord Botetourt, the Governor of Virginia, sent for the House of Burgesses and addressed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, I have heard of your Resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."—1 Vol. 83.

The Parliamentary duty on Tea was afterwards laid, and opposed on a fundamental principle, as to the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies. In this opposition a quantity of Tea, belonging to the East-India Company, was destroyed in Boston harbour. In consequence of which an act of Parliament was passed, for stopping the trade and blocking up the harbour of Boston. On this subject the Historian observes, "The patriots who had hitherto guided the helm, knew well, that if the other colonies did not support the people of Boston, they must be crushed, and it was equally obvious, that in their coercion a precedent, injurious to liberty, would be established. It was therefore the interest of Boston to draw in the other colonies—It was also the interest of the patriots in all the colonies, to bring over the bulk of the people, to adopt such efficient measures, as were likely to extricate the inhabitants of Boston from the unhappy situation in which they were involved. To effect

these purposes much prudence as well as patriotism was necessary. The other provinces were but remotely affected by the fate of Massachusetts. They were happy, and had no cause, on their own account, to oppose the Government of Great Britain. That a people so circumstanced should take part with a distressed neighbour, at the risque of incurring the resentment of the mother country, did not accord with the selfish maxims, by which States, as well as individuals, are usually governed. The ruled are, for the most part, prone to suffer, as long as evils are tolerable, and in general they must feel, before they are roused to contend with their oppressors; but the Americans acted on a contrary principle."—1 Vol. 113.

"In Virginia the House of Burgesses on the 26th of May 1774, resolved, that the first of June, the day on which the operation of the *Boston Port Bill* was to commence, should be set apart by the members as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition, for averting the heavy calamities which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war—to give them one heart and one mind, to oppose by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." On the publication of this resolution, the Royal Governor, the Earl of Dunmore, dissolved them. The members, notwithstanding their dissolution, met in their private capacities, and signed an agreement, in which, among other things, they declared, "that an attack made on one of their sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack made on all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied."—1 Vol. 118.

This was the second time the house of Burgesses incurred the displeasure of their royal Governor, and were dissolved for supporting their brethren of Massachusetts. In those days, as well as lately, Virginia took a leading influential part in the republican cause, and acted with union, energy and success. But did the citizens of Boston—did the inhabitants of Massachusetts—did the people of New England then complain of "*Virginia Domination*?" There was the same cause for such complaints then, as now. And they were indeed made.—Yes, *Hutchison*, *Barnard*, and other royalists and tories, at that day, made substantially the same complaints of Virginia influence, as the *federalists* do at present. But the *whigs*, particularly of Massachusetts, cooperated with their brethren of Virginia. "In the beginning of March, 1773, the House of Burgesses appointed a committee of eleven persons who should maintain a correspondence with her "sister colonies," on all the subjects which related to the common cause.—It was on this occasion, that the legislature of Massachusetts paid a just tribute of respect to the exertions of the Virginians. They came to several Resolves, and were careful, in the first, to speak highly in praise of Virginia. They appointed a committee of fifteen members, and directed them to "prepare a circular letter to the Speakers, requesting them to lay the same before

their respective Assemblies, in confidence that they will comply with the wise and salutary resolves of the house of Burgesses of Virginia.”—*Gord. Hist.* 1 Vol. 224.

A Virginian patriot, the illustrious WASHINGTON, by an unanimous appointment, took the command of our army, and, in harmonious concert with his brother officers and fellow-soldiers of all the states, conducted it to a successful and glorious issue. Through the commander-in-chief, Virginia had a superior influence in the military part of the revolution.—But that circumstance gave the other states no just cause of complaint.

A momentous crisis in our Revolution was the Declaration of Independence. It was a bold but necessary measure. The public mind was in a degree prepared for it by the “*Common Sense*” of Mr. Paine, the most popular pamphlet ever published in America. But the first official step towards it was taken by Virginia. The house of Burgesses of that state, on the fifteenth day of May, 1776, when there were present one hundred and twelve members, resolved *unanimously*, that their Delegates should be instructed to propose to Congress, that the United Colonies be, by that respectable body, declared free and independent States.” The motion was accordingly made, June 7th, by RICHARD HENRY LEE, one of their Delegates;—and another of them, THOMAS JEFFERSON, the chairman of the committee appointed for that purpose, drew the Declaration which was adopted and signed July 4th, 1776.—*Rams. His.* 1 Vol. 324—*Gordon’s*, 1 Vol. 84.

The articles of Confederation proving insufficient, a renovation of the Constitution became necessary. In this important measure, also, Virginia had the honour of taking the lead. “While the country, says the elegant Historian, free from foreign force and domestic violence, enjoyed tranquillity, a proposition was made by Virginia to all the other States to meet in Convention, for the purpose of digesting a form of government, equal to the exigences of the Union:—The first motion for this purpose was made by Mr. Madison, and he had the pleasure of seeing it acceded to by twelve of the States, and finally to issue in the establishment of a New Constitution, which bids fair to repay the citizens of the United States for the toils, dangers and wastes of the Revolution.”—*Ramsay’s History*, 2 Vol. 341.

In addition to this remark of the Historian, it may be observed, that Mr. MADISON, being a member of the General Convention, and one of the Committee of five, who sat in their recess, is said to have had a principal agency in drawing the Constitution. He was one of the most prominent advocates for its adoption in the Convention of Virginia, where he was opposed by the celebrated Orator, Mr. HENRY. Afterwards, in the first Congress under the new government, he moved the subject of Amendments, twelve of which were proposed by the two Houses of Congress, and ten of them ratified by a constitutional majority of the States. Those amendments

both improved the Constitution, and also reconciled a large proportion of the citizens of the United States, who were dissatisfied with the Constitution, as originally adopted, but who from that time have been most sincerely attached to it.

General WASHINGTON, a Virginian, was unanimously elected the first President of the United States; and he selected Mr. JEFFERSON for the confidential office of Secretary of State. Upon Mr. Jefferson's election to the Presidency, he appointed his bosom friend, Mr. MADISON, to the same office, which he had himself holden under President Washington.—The administration receives the cordial support of Virginia, and most of the other States.

Citizens of New England, from this historical review, you see the conduct of Virginia, on the momentous questions of the *Stamp Act* and other measures of the British Parliament to tax the Colonies, the *Declaration of Independence*, and the *Federal Constitution*, and also in relation to the Parliamentary attacks upon Massachusetts, and the sufferings of the town of Boston. As a State, till lately, Massachusetts harmonized and cooperated with her in the common cause of Liberty. Her politics continue, as from the beginning, *Republican*. Her members, her union, her political consistency and coincidence with the original sentiments of the mass of the American people, give her now, as formerly, great weight and influence in the legislative and executive councils of the nation.—The deviation from first principles, and a common policy, has been on our part:—As a State, we have been divided, alienated and opposed to the nation and the States in general, and have thus thrown away, for awhile, our national influence and consequence. Instead of retracing our steps, and regaining our former standing, by fair means, a disappointed, desperate faction among us are endeavouring, by all the little *Anti-Washingtonian* arts in their power to excite a State jealousy against Virginia. Of all possible schemes of opposition this is the most ungrateful, illiberal and mean; and as such, we ought indignantly to frown upon it.”—(*Pittsfield Sun*.)

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, the late Oracle of Anglo-Federalism, in a Report made as Secretary of the Treasury in 1792, gave his opinion to Congress, that “Ideas of a contrariety of interests between the Northern and Southern regions of the Union, are in the main as unfounded as they are mischievous. The diversity of circumstances, on which such contrariety is usually predicated, authorizes a directly contrary conclusion. Mutual wants constitute one of the strongest links of political connection; and the extent of these bears a natural proportion to the diversity in the means of mutual supply.

“Suggestions of an opposite complexion are ever to be deplored, as unfriendly to the steady pursuit of one great common cause, and to the perfect harmony of all the parts.”

Reader, compare these sentiments with the ravings and railings, which you read

and heard from our northern *Anglo-federalists* at the present day, against the Southern States in general, and Virginia in particular; and learn what a mutable, inconsistent thing this *federalism* is!

In the same Report Secretary HAMILTON observed to Congress, the disturbed state of Europe, inclining its citizens to emigration, the requisite workmen will be more easily acquired, than at another time; and the effect of multiplying the opportunities of employment to those who emigrate, may be an increase of the number and extent of valuable acquisitions to the population, arts and industry of the country.

To find pleasure in the calamities of other nations would be criminal; but to benefit ourselves, by opening an asylum to those who suffer, in consequence of them, is as justifiable as it is politic.

In conformity to these just sentiments a naturalization law was passed, under the faith of which foreigners persecuted like our ancestors in their native countries, emigrated to the United States. In the progress of *federalism*, towards an hereditary system, as one of the means of changing the genius of our government, in order to accustom our citizens to the exercise of arbitrary power by degrees, it was thought advisable to begin with foreigners; for which purpose, a popular clamour was raised against them, and then an Alien Act passed, by which, notwithstanding the national faith pledged by the naturalization law, and in violation of the constitutional right of Jury trial, the President was vested with arbitrary power to inflict banishment, without indictment or trial, at his sovereign will and pleasure, upon any aliens whom he might think dangerous, and who had not obtained complete naturalization. The political tendency of this measure, to change the principle of our constitution, was artfully attempted to be concealed under the popular hue and cry raised against Aliens by the *federal* partizans, and joined in by thousands who did not perceive the object.

The venerable and virtuous State of Massachusetts had been selected by the enemies to EQUAL RIGHTS, as the focus of statistic sedition. It was her Capital that the late Gen. Hamilton designated as "the headquarters of Anti-republican principles;" but recent honorable events have proved that it was a libel on her general character. She might be deceived but she could not be corrupted. The insidious foes to the mild principles of our government, have employed every means to seduce her from an obedience to her own declarations, and to cloud her intellect with misrepresentation. They affected to deplore an endangered state of religion, which had no existence but in idea; while they were actually destroying the food of morals by coarse detraction, and every art that falsehood, malevolence or folly could suggest. They held a majority of the people of this State, in an aristocratic slumber for several years, by continually administering deadly opiates, with the superscribed alluring appellation of "*order and good government.*" This fatal delusion was upheld by

consummate artifice and incessant intrigue, until it pleased Heaven to destroy this unnatural *Anglo-tory* endeavour, by the means which they had adopted for its support. And the "*sleeping Sampsons*" have at length awoken, and shown their strength.

In the plenitude of a political lunacy, it was resolved that Mr. ELY of Springfield should openly move for a violation of the last governing testament of Washington, and create such a difficulty between the *Northern* and *Southern* states, as would contemplate, on its becoming a law of the land, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION!—Though every institute both divine and human, seemed to forbid the measure, it was squeezed through the Legislature of this Commonwealth, by a majority so limited as scarcely to be indicative of approbation. All the Republicans were alarmed, and the moderate federalists began to ponder upon the disorganizing boldness of the proceeding. The sensible yeomanry argued with each other upon the misery that was in perspective: they well knew that a reciprocation of advantages was involved in the pure conservation of the Federal Compact, and that all and every State, from *Saint Croix* to the *Mississippi*, were bound by policy, honor and humanity, to resist this terrible inroad upon the common good. They well knew that New England was the carrier of the rich produce of the Southern department of the confederation, who receive through the Northern states the produce of the Indies and of Europe; and that although the duties to the government are first paid here, that the consumer ultimately bears the weight of the impost. They know all this, and consequently saw the awful danger of Mr. ELY's attempt to derange the system, and make a political volcano of their parent State, from whence the destructive fires were to be belched forth upon her associated sisters, in legislation and strength. Their apprehension made them think with more depth and precision: that thought awakened their duty, when they immediately clung to "first principles," and expressed their repugnance to the proposed innovation, by giving a decided majority against the promoters and friends of this calamitous attempt.

It has been wittily said, of this Mr. ELY, that he digests his food better than he digests his ideas, and his personal weight gives to this observation the force of an acknowledged truth; but his mental weight would not authorise an unqualified suspicion that he had any agency in the formation of a project, which, if carried into effect commensurate with the desires of those who gave it sustenance if not birth, might convulse this empire from *Maine* to *Georgia*. If once a fanatical spirit is infused in the organic mass of elementary principles of the American commonwealth; if Northern can be opposed to Southern influence, in battle array; if geographical limitations can excite political antipathies; if we can have played off, in America, a miserable imitation of the *blue* and *green* factions in Constantinople, as they have been eloquently described by the luminous GIBBON—If we are to have

the fable of the big endions and the little endions of *Laputo*, so happily conceived and exquisitely told by Dr. SWIFT, unfortunately realized, upon the fair bosom of this splendid and rising nation ; if conspirators, in their caucusses and closets, are hourly suffered to pollute public opinion, by multitudinous and atrocious falsehoods ; if the nauseating tale of a *Virginia* influence, is to be echoed and re-echoed until the abominable authors of this most infamous and chimerical slander, almost believe it to be true—why then we must bid adieu to our wonted repose, to our endearing sympathies—to private and public confidence—to the paternal admonitions of WASHINGTON, and to the order and harmony of our political systems, where each and every portion of territory answers and accords to the other, and the wants of a part, are exuberantly supplied by the industry and talents of the rest : so stands New-England, in relation to the southern states, and so stand the southern states in relation to New-England. Nor can one planet disappear from the galaxy, without ruin or confusion to its dependent satellites.

That all these, and many more and worse, would be the inevitable consequences of Mr. ELY's motion, if those who first conceived it, could be gratified in their wishes, we have no doubt : but we have a doubt whether the extreme solidity of this gentleman's intellectual organs ever did or could admit an impression adequate to the extent of the mischief involved in his disastrous motion. The *Royal Faction* are alternately despairing and hoping, wishing and fearing : one day trying the result of one wretched expedient, and on the next, of another—following circular letters with pamphlets, and pamphlets with political festivals—decrying British influence in public, and giving it force and currency in private ! Tutored in machiavelian stratagems abroad, and insidiously disseminating the same stratagems at home, to warp the public mind from its due regards for civil and religious freedom ; to give to the citizens forms instead of principles, and to teach them distrust of their own happiness, by insinuating a doubt of their own political sufficiency.—Such, these incendiaries would wish the people to become ; tame and insipid, believing themselves to be, *their own worst enemies*—like the generous lion encaged, at once the sport and profit of his keeper !—These are the politics and their effects, fellow-citizens, of such motions. It is like a signal to battle, or like the morning gun which announces the approaching carnage of the dreadful day that is to succeed the explosion.

When Massachusetts was first settled, every circumstance in Europe, conspired to give a Republican tendency to the primitive inhabitants, which has never been interrupted or perverted, from its natural objects, the personal independence of the citizen, and the security of the government.—It has been a mistaken idea, cherished by British writers, and attempted, by them, to be imposed upon mankind, that these original settlers were nourished in their infancy, by the paternal care of that nation,

from which they descended ; the contrary tendency of this assertion is too clear, however to be disputed ; for these unhappy *aliens* and *emigrants*, never came to this country from choice, but necessity, and were actually discharged on this inhospitable soil, by the convulsive efforts of the British nation, when the spirit of civil and religious liberty, was in the highest state of effervescence ; bringing with them an indignant sense of the wrong they had suffered, in the place of their nativity ; outcast and forlorn : enraged and persecuted, they settled here as in a place of refuge, from the contempt and hatred of their oppressors—agreeably to the light of experience, and the influence of the political knowledge which they then possessed, every measure and every institution became republican, from their natural attachment to that cause, and to those principles, which produced the occasion—The hundred hills of Massachusetts became the *mons sacer* to these determined plebians, who, however very unlike the Plebians of Rome, never could be persuaded again, to be corrupted by the arts, or enchained by the force, of that government, which had systematically galled them, by every means in their power : through all the varied scenes of political history, it appears, as far as our examination has reached, that the People of this state may be deceived, but they cannot be *enslaved*.

Alarmed by the hardy spirit of those original Republicans, the British administration, adopted an early system of *espionage*, and detached numerous emissaries, to seduce, or intimidate the People—among these, one RANDOLPH was conspicuous, whose letters may be found in the third volume of *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts* ; these letters, were continued from Sept. 20, in 1676, to May 16th, in 1689, when the last of them, was dated in the Gaol of Boston ! where this miscreant had been confined, in one of those revolutionary paroxisms, when the sovereign people of this State, (always vigilant and jealous of their privileges,) took the liberty of vindicating their own rights, to the discomfiture of the guilty.—A perusal of these letters, in illustration of our first position, would demonstrate the perfect scorn, with which every occurrence relating to New-England was held by this courtly missionary : we shall select only one instance, among a number, taken from a letter, under the date of June 14, 1682 : in this letter RANDOLPH has asserted, as follows, “the first adventurers are either all dead, or their children driven out of their property, by their fathers’ servants, or else they have become so few and inconsiderable, as to be involved in obscurity ; and as for all the persons, concerned in the *faction* here” for so the inhabitants of New-England have been invariably stigmatized in Great Britain, “I know but one man, who was not a servant, or a Servant’s son, who now governs the governor and the whole country.”—RANDOLPH calls the people of this town *Bostoncers*, and *Usurpers*, and charges them with a design to form an independent Commonwealth, denying any appeals to Britain ; in the true spirit of British policy he affects to treat its military strength with derision, and undertakes

with 500 of his Britannic Majesty's guards, to subdue and drive them from the Province, as he proceeds to say, that Mr. LEVERETT, is the only old Soldier in the Colony, he having served, in the late Rebellion, under OLIVER CROMWELL.

All these facts go to prove the spirit of their ancestors, and we know of nothing that can demonstrate any change among these Republicans, from that determination and virtue, which their Fathers possessed: with the light of experience then blazing before our eyes, and directing our course, we smile at the idea that the Republican party will not be paramount: however modified or suppressed, this virtue cannot be extinguished, and if the arts of Anglo Federalism, could bring it into action, woe be to those who should create the difficulty; the firm minority of 33,000, would, in such a crisis, soon become the majority, and the Republicans, when it was "their cue to fight," would not want a prompter.—Let the Tory Journals then boast of their strength in this state—let the dozing Sampsons, in their cups, charged with the Falernian grape, prophane the religion which they affect to venerate, and artfully insinuate *opposition*, when they really meditate REBELLION, in order if possible to effect a separation from the Southern States!—But let them recollect that they are attentively watched, in all their machinations, and if they should once dare *to lift their parricidal hands against the peace of their country*, the same magnanimity of heart, which of old, made RANDOLPH and ANDROS prisoners, (and of late, cleared this State, of the worst of malefactors, although born and bred in its bosom;) if once roused into action, would soon add new examples to the catalogue of domestic traitors, and make them as *execrable*, as they are now *impotent*.

We say again that the People of this State, are rapidly awakening to a due sense of their true interests, and that no man in it *dare publicly to avow a wish to sever the union*—nor will all the subtleties, that have been so industriously practised to renew a little provincial prejudice, against the sister State of Virginia, serve any other purpose, but that of exposing the perpetrators to general detestation, when the point is rightly understood.

It is no less honorable, to the character of this nation, than true, that in that arduous struggle for liberty and independence, which marked the American revolution, there never was the least disagreement: there never was even a symptom of jealousy among the states, composing the ORIGINAL CONFEDERATION. Not, that the Anti-revolutionary faction, vulgarly called the *Tory Party*, bribed by foreign gold; seduced by foreign influence, or corrupted by the vain, illusory hope of advancing their private fortunes on the ruin of their country; did not practice every artifice, without regard to truth, reason, or decency, to weaken the springs of opposition to the claims of the British Government, and to suffocate, in its cradle, the herculean infant of Liberty; which even then, alone and unprotected in the alarming conflict,

either attracted the notice, or excited the admiration, of the wise and enlightened in every part of Europe.

The idea of rival or contending interests between the GREAT and the LITTLE STATES, had not then an existence: or if, by chance some wretched, mean and hypocritical miscreant, but hesitatingly touched this string of national discord, his name was given to the winds of heaven, to be wafted in infamy through every part of *the union*—Not *Galloway*—nor *Hutchinson*, not the veriest sycophant of British power, had then ventured to insist upon this topic, so fertile of the plagues of faction, and of anarchy; provided it could have obtained a residence in the American mind. The discovery of this imaginary evil was reserved for a more tranquil and a more happy period—it is Mr. TRACY of Connecticut, and a few benighted followers of this prophet of Sedition, who, in the fulness of political necromancy, have had the unrivalled glory of conjuring from the gulph of despair, this horrid demon of the imagination.—In the progress of the Revolution, *Delaware* reposed in security, by the side of *Pennsylvania*; *Rhode Island* was cherished by *Massachusetts*, and the *Jerseys*, after being pillaged by the British mercenaries, found relief in her more populous and effective neighbours—Local boundaries have been fixed by accident, and are now consecrated by the force of time and habit; and it is only on the NATION'S WILL and POWER: and on the natural and constitutional RIGHTS and INTERESTS, of the States, and of the individuals who compose them, that the peace and prosperity, of this rising Republic, is built and established as on a rock!—Away then with this miserable pretence: Away then with this insulting distinction of the GREAT and LITTLE STATES, having discordant or even varying interests:—The sovereignty of each is equally and inviolably guarded against injury or diminution; and what is good *for one* is good *for all*.

This project of effacing the best and wisest provisions of the Constitution, is a new thing, that was engendered, in secret, and cast instantaneously upon our astonished senses!—It burst upon us, like a black, terrific cloud, at noon day, obtruding upon the beautiful sunshine, and clear atmosphere, surcharged with all the elements of destruction.—A GUY FAWKES was found to blow us into the air, with all the settled orders of the State: our peace and union and glory, our funds and credit, both public and private: our consistency, our character, our laws, our security, and our love for each other, were to be sacrificed in this novel explosion! for out of this dreadful project every evil might arise, but certainly, no benefit, either to the Union, the particular States, or the individual Citizens!

Let us try the public mind, upon the chord of interest.—There are 14,000 public creditors, and 5000 of those belong to Massachusetts, which owns more of the public debt, than Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Mississippi!—Should this have no influence upon the

wise and independent people of this province?—In the event of a public commotion, every State must take care of its own creditors, living within its jurisdiction.—In regard to numbers, they run thus : Virginia and Kentucky contain 1,100,000 persons, 700,000 of which are white.—Massachusetts and Maine contain only 575,000.—Pennsylvania contains upwards of 600,000 persons—and the Constitutions, of 16 out of 17 States duly recognize the antient distinction of Freemen and *Servi* : considering such a recognition, as indispensably necessary to the tranquillity, preservation and strength of the whole Federal Union, whose fundamental principle of government, is dependent on the ratio of representation and taxation by numbers ; which is *the key stone of the Constitution*.

It is not a geographical line, or territorial boundary :—It is not a circumstance resting on this or that point of the compass—It is not a dissimilitude of little interests among the distant, but irreproachable members of the great political family—It is not the necromantic efficacy of a few miserable terms of cabalistic origin—It is not the merely local distinction of southern or northern states, or the deadly attempt to exasperate Virginia against Massachusetts—It is not by any management of intrigue or disaffection to the peace, increasing prosperity and happy establishments of the nation, among a remnant of disappointed pious men, and their infatuated partizans THAT CAN OR SHALL CONVULSE THE SOLID FABRIC OF THE UNION !

LOUISIANA.

The malignant, but absurd manner, in which the Anglo-Federal Faction, have questioned the policy of possessing *Louisiana*, is the most damning proof of their inveteracy to our civil and religious liberties, and of their servile devotion to the views of the British Government that has occurred : first, they laboured hard to make it the source of a foreign war, but disappointed in that mad desire, they attempted to invalidate the authority of France in regard to its disposal ; but as quiet possession was admitted by the official representatives of Spain, as well as France, they groaned with dismay, until the temporary provisions for its regulation under the American supremacy, were submitted to the approbation of the Congress ; then, with a malignant ardor, they brought every article to the rack of sophistry, and by insisting loudly, on the fallacy of means that had never been tried, ungenerously expected to excite murmurs against the best possible mode, which human sagacity could cherish, for the safe arrangement of such chaotic elements of grandeur.—What additional advantages would these enemies to our Government desire, for the people of Louisiana ? they have equal laws, freedom of religious worship, the trial by jury, the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus*, and every immunity that can be enjoyed by men who are taking a probationary station in the grades of Liberty, to qualify them for a fuller enjoyment of its felicities—The force of habit, is wonderfully powerful,

and men, may be found (even in the Eastern States) who would rather do homage to a Tyrant, for the privilege to breathe ; in order, that they might tyrannize over their band of vassals ; than stand erect, as men on a basis of comparative equality, with the mass of human kind—As this is an unquestionable, though a melancholy fact, what could the Congressional Power do, under such extraordinary wants, but go forwards ; with a cautious, but increasing confidence ; and as the coast has never been navigated by Freedom, to throw the lead, as they advance towards legislative perfection.

In bestowing civil and religious liberty upon a people, who have not been accustomed to their enjoyment, we can scarcely exercise too much circumspection ; like persons who have been enfeebled by a long course of disease, it is expedient that we should regulate our cordials and anodynes by the appearances of convalescence, and not endanger the vital principle, by an influx of viands too suddenly administered.—The friends of the executive authority must perceive that they are placed in a situation of unprecedented responsibility ; to emancipate the inhabitants of a province, who have been long enslaved by the harsh institutes of prescriptive force, and that in the execution of this godlike endeavour, much peril may arise, as resulting from the prejudices of custom, and much more from a domestic opposition, issuing from villany, in the knavish, and from misconception, in the unwise.

Sir WM. BLACKSTONE, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, makes the rights of persons, to consist, principally, “in the enjoyment of personal security, of personal liberty, and of private property : so long as these remain inviolate,” continues this legal sage, “the subject is perfectly free : for every species of compulsive tyranny and oppression must act in opposition to one or other of these rights, having no other object upon which it can possibly be employed.”

The conditional frailty of men, comprises three states ; Innocence, suspicion and guilt : In innocence, he is to be protected ; in suspicion, he is to be circumscribed ; and in guilt, he is to be punished, with a reference to mercy—From a good government two essential points are required : Privileges to be maintained, and a power commensurate with that expected support—That being the relative position of the ruler and the community, it is the duty of all men, who mean well to their fellow citizens, to take all the bearings, obligations and infirmities of our nature, within the scale of their understanding, before they presume to pass judgment on matters of such high moment to the world—The truth is, that the whole proceeding of the Executive Authority, relative to *Louisiana*, is the most glorious circumstance of Mr. Jefferson's glorious life :—It was conceived in wisdom, was organized by benevolence, and will be sustained by happiness and honor.

“What are the boundaries of Louisiana,” as acquired by the United States from France, by the late treaty of cession ? This point, independent of any connection it

may have with the ratification of the convention, is extremely important. In order to exhibit this view the more distinctly, it is necessary to go back to an early period of the colonization of Louisiana.

In the year 1673, M. M. Joliet, and Marquette, two French Canadians, excited by the information of the Indians, explored and struck the Mississippi, which they descended to the Arkansas. Their representations awakened the curiosity of M. de la Sale, who, in the year 1680, under the permission of the French government, explored the Mississippi. On the lower part of the Illinois he garrisoned a fort called Crevecoeur; and he sent father Hennepin down the Mississippi, until he reached the ocean. In 1682, M. la Sale, and M. Jonti, went down the river with sixty men, named the country Louisiana, built a fort in the Chickasaw territory, 60 leagues below the Ohio, by the name of Prudhomme. M. la Sale then returned to France. The French government, entering with ardour, into his scheme of forming settlements along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi, from sea to sea, placed under his direction four vessels, with men and stores. He sailed in 1684; but missing the mouth of the Mississippi, landed on the 18th of February, in the Bay of St. Bernard. Here he made two successive establishments.

About this time the Chevalier Tontito, descended the mouth of the Mississippi, and on ascending the river formed a permanent settlement on the Arkansas. Not long after this period several other small settlements were made by enterprising Frenchmen.

In 1689 war commenced between France and Spain, which lasted till 1697, during which period nothing appeared to have been done by France to succour her colony. In 1648, M. D'Iberville was dispatched as governour. He established two settlements, one at Isle Massacre, which he called Isle Dauphin, and the other at Mobile. It may be proper to observe that during the war, in 1796, Spain had taken post at Pensacola.

From these facts it follows that France enjoyed the actual and undisturbed possession of the coast from the Mobile to the Bay of St. Bernard, and from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Illinois, which, together with other territory, comprises what is now called West Florida, but which then, together with the country as far as Canada, went by the common name of Louisiana.

In this condition things stood, when Louis XIV. by letters patent, on the 14th Sept. 1712, granted to M. Crozat, the exclusive commerce of this country for fifteen years. This document is important, as it contains the first formal recognition of the extent of the French possessions. The extracts in point, are as follows:

"Louis by the Grace of God King of France and Navarre: To all who shall see these Letters, Greeting. The care we have always had to procure the welfare and advantage of our subjects have induced us, notwithstanding the almost continual

wars which we have been obliged to support from the beginning of our reign, to seek for all possible opportunities of extending and enlarging the trade of our American colonies, *we did in the year 1683 give our orders to undertake a discovery of the countries and lands which are situated in the northern part of America between New France and New Mexico. And the Sieur de la Sale, to whom we committed that enterprise, having had success enough to confirm a belief that a communication might be settled from New France to the Gulf of Mexico by means of large rivers ; this obliged us immediately after the peace of Ryswick to give orders for the establishing a colony there, and maintaining a garrison, which has kept and preserved the possession, we had taken in the very year 1683 of the lands, coasts and islands which are situated in the gulph of Mexico, between Carolina on the East, and Old and New Mexico on the West.* But a new war having broke out in Europe shortly after, there was no possibility, till now, of reaping from that new colony the advantages that might have been expected from thence, because the private men, who are concerned in the sea trade, were all under engagements with other colonies which they have been obliged to follow : *And WHEREAS upon information we have received concerning the disposition and situation of the said countries known at present by the name of the Province of Louisiana, we are of opinion that there may be established therein a considerable commerce, so much the more advantageous to our kingdom in that there has hitherto been a necessity of fetching from foreigners the greatest part of the commodities which may be brought from thence, and because in exchange thereof we need carry thither nothing but the commodities of the growth and manufacture of our kingdom ; we have resolved to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana to the Sieur Anthony Crozat, our councillor, Secretary of the Household, Crown and Revenue, to whom we entrust the execution of this project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, because his zeal and the singular knowledge he has acquired in maritime commerce encourage us to hope for as good success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry enterprises he has gone upon, and which have procured to our kingdom great quantities of gold and silver in such conjunctures as have rendered them very welcome to us.*

“For these reasons being desirous to show our favour to him, and to regulate the conditions upon which we mean to grant him the said commerce after having deliberated this affair in our Council, of our certain knowledge, full power, and Royal authority, We by these Presents, signed by our hand, have appointed and do appoint the said Sieur Crozat, solely to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico, and by the lauds of the English Carolina, *all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and haven of the Isle Dauphin, heretofore Massacre : the river St. Lewis, heretofore called Mississip-*

pi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois, together with the river of St. Philip, heretofore called the Missouri, and St. Jerome, heretofore called Ova-bache, with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into the part of the river St. Lewis.

"The ARTICLES—1st—Our pleasure is, that all the aforesaid lands, countries, streams, rivers and islands, be and remain comprised *under the name of the government of Louisiana*, which shall be dependent upon the general government of New France, to which it is subordinate: and further that all the lands which we possess from the Illinois be united, so far as occasion require to the general government of New France, and become part thereof, reserving, however to ourselves the liberty of enlarging as we shall think fit the extent of the government of the said country of Louisiana."

This is a solemn declaration that the waters running directly or indirectly into the Mississippi, and the country they embrace, constituted the province of Louisiana. Within these limits France continued without disturbance to extend her settlements till the year 1763. During this period were formed the treaties of Ryswick in 1697, of Utrecht in 1713, and of Rastadt in 1714, to which Spain was a party, and which in none of their provisions invalidate the rights of France.

In 1718, the French took Pensacola from Spain, to whom it was restored at the peace of 1719; since which the Perdido, between Mobile and Pensacola, has been the acknowledged boundary between Louisiana and Florida.

The boundaries of Louisiana, then as held by France, were the coast and islands from the Perdido to the Rio Norte; up that river to its source; thence to the highlands and round the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi, and their waters to the Alleghany mountains, along those mountains and the high lands surrounding the waters of the Mobile to the head of the Perdido, and down that river to the ocean.

There was, it is true, a collision between these claims and those of the English colonies, whose charters extended from sea to sea; but these interfering claims were adjusted by the treaty of Paris of 1763; by which the Mississippi and Iberville were made the limits of the English possessions on the East, and Louisiana on the West.

Thus far then, that is to the year 1763, there is no doubt that what is now denominated West Florida, was a part of Louisiana.

To the war which commenced between France and England in 1755, Spain in 1762 became a party on the side of France. England having been so successful as to conquer a considerable portion of the Island of Cuba from Spain negotiations were entered into for a peace. In these negotiations Great-Britain required Florida and that part of Louisiana between the Iberville and the Perdido, in exchange for Cuba.

To enable Spain to offer these as an equivalent, France, by a secret treaty dated November 3, 1762 (the same day on which the preliminary treaty was signed) consented to cede to Spain all Louisiana. By the definitive treaty, signed on the 10th February, 1763, France ceded to England all Louisiana east of the Mississippi, except the Island of New-Orleans; which with the remainder of the province she ceded to Spain. The cession to England, although *formally* on the part of France (for the treaty between France and Spain was still secret) was *substantially* made by Spain, who had become the real proprietor of all Louisiana.

England immediately divided her newly acquired possessions into two distinct governments; to one she gave the name of *West Florida*, which embraced the tract west of the Apalachicola: and to the other, embracing the residue of her possessions, she gave that of *East Florida*. This is the first that we hear of *West Florida*, it being a name given by Great-Britain to a subdivision of her territory.

At the close of the American war in 1783, Great-Britain restored to Spain Florida, and the country east of the Iberville. Spain, on taking possession, continued, with some modification, the English arrangements, placing, however, West Florida under the jurisdiction of the governor of Louisiana, who resided at New-Orleans; and since that time this territory, as well in publick instruments, as in general conversation, has gone by the names of Louisiana or West Florida, sometimes the one and sometimes the other name being used.

On the 1st of October, 1800, by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, Spain receded to France the "colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it actually has in the hands of Spain—that it had when France possessed it—and such as it ought to be after the treaties passed subsequently between Spain and other states."

On the 30th of April 1803, France ceded to the United States all the territory which she had thus acquired from Spain.

These are the facts of which a decision is to be made whether the cession by France to the United States does, or does not embrace that portion of country called West Florida?

In the *first place* Spain stipulates to recede *Louisiana with the same extent that it actually has [in 1800] in the hands of Spain*. To determine the import of this stipulation it is only necessary to ascertain the extent of country embraced by the term *Louisiana*. It has been clearly shown that previous to the cession of France to Spain, Louisiana extended to the Perdido. Had any thing occurred previously to the date of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, to contract its limits? If nothing had occurred, the limits must be considered as unaltered. That portion of territory, ceded in 1763 to Great-Britain, was receded to Spain in 1783, with the new name of *West Florida*, given by England. Restored to Spain, although this name was not formally dismissed, the territory which it covers, was re-annexed to the government

of Louisiana, and the old arrangements, previous to its cession to England re-instated. By these arrangements Louisiana, as to its extent, was replaced in the same situation it occupied previous to the cession of a part of it to Great-Britain, which was the same with that it held when possessed by France under whose arrangements West Florida formed a part of it.

But as if solicitous to remove all ambiguity, the treaty proceeds to stipulate, in the *second place that Louisiana shall be ceded in the same extent it had when France possessed it* (that is, previously to the year 1763). Now the fact is that France never possessed this province, with any extent which did not include the English province of West Florida—It may have occurred to the framers of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, that doubts might arise as to the meaning of the term “the province of Louisiana,” after the cession of a part of it to Great Britain, and its recession to Spain. Hence the propriety of dissipating all such doubts, by declaring that the new cession should be in *the same extent it had when France possessed it*. This effectually set aside all regard to the regulations of England. Supposing, then, the *first* stipulation to be of doubtful import, the *second*, so plain as not to admit of any other construction, comes in to remove all doubts. For it is an established principle of construction, that where there are two passages tending to the same end, one of which is doubtful, and the other clear, the last shall preponderate. The denial of this construction to the stipulation will be tantamount to saying that it shall have no meaning at all, which in so solemn an instrument as a treaty, and on so important an occasion as the transfer of territory, is altogether inadmissible.

In the *third place it is stipulated that the cession shall be such as it ought to be after the treaties passed subsequently between Spain and other states*—that is, subsequently to the cession by France, which was in the year 1762. Now, subsequently to this was formed the treaty of 1795 between Spain and the United States, by which the former confirmed to the latter a degree of latitude (from 32 to 31 degrees) which she had alleged to be a part of Louisiana unceded to France, and consequently belonging to her.

According to these stipulations, taken together, Spain ceded Louisiana to France exactly as France possessed it previous to the year 1763, with the only exception of a reservation of the rights acknowledged by Spain to attach to the United States, and in this precise shape France thus possessed of Louisiana, has ceded it to the United States. If the facts we have stated, and the inferences deduced from them be correct, it follows that the Perdido is the boundary of Louisiana, and consequently that West Florida is a part of the cession to the United States.—*Nat. Intel.*

In the second inauguration of Mr. JEFFERSON, we have full cause for National Gladness. It will form a great and consoling æra, when in times unborn, the friends of virtue shall recur to this event, as bearing equal honor to the discernment of the people and the integrity of their First Magistrate. Such concurring emanations of popular good sense and moral gratitude, we are confident in affirming, have never been recorded in history. Among such men, the residence of Liberty may be secure; their deep knowledge of right will preserve her from the machinations of declared foes, and their temperance will guard her from the fatal excesses of enthusiasm.

In the wide rejoicings on that proud event, we connect the dangers that we have past with the felicities that we embrace. In returning thanks to heaven for its providential interposition in our favor, by rescuing us from the chains of an aristocratic, unnatural and cruel faction, and thereby restoring our dignity as a people, we cannot refrain from mingling our tears with our consolation. Like sea-beaten mariners who have escaped total destruction, while we kiss the land that is firm in our support, we cannot take a retrospective view of the fragments of the wreck without horror!

It hath been lamentably asserted, by a celebrated philosopher of the old world, (Charron) that there is no reward or honor assigned unto those who know how to encrease or preserve human nature: all honors, greatness, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs and trophies, are appointed for those only, who know how to afflict, trouble or destroy it. And this woeful assertion is correct, so far as regards the ruling propensities of every part of the globe but this singularly happy nation. It is here, and here alone, where reason and justice seem to have their due establishment. In Britain you see a splendid court, surrounding a monarch, whose restricted intellect forms no impediment to his behest in governing. Around this royal instance of infirmity, the mean, but haughty sycophants revolve, like satellites of power: but, as this local grandeur is inhumanly impressive, so the consequence upon the community is inhuman penny. The *many* crouch and shudder before the *FEW*, and even those gallant spirits are starved into unconditional submission to privileged villany and partial laws, who have discernment to ascertain the extent of their wretchedness!—We thank the Supreme Being, that our political state is far otherwise. In this mild but mighty confederation of Sister States, the people can express their sovereign will towards their magistrates; their eternal right to rule is interwoven with their elective franchises; their jurisprudence embraces the good of all conditions in society, and, when a dereliction from the generous principles of the Federal Compact is directly or indirectly displayed, by their first servant, they can openly cashier the traitor to their independence. The ministry of heaven are not insulted with a *jure divino*; and we fervently hope and trust it will

be long, very long, before the minings of corruption, or any irregular motive of ambition, arising from the incessant struggles of pride and wealth to be predominant, shall introduce that aristocratic leaven in our system, that must ultimately lead to the overthrow of our liberties, by depriving the Citizen of his equal rights and natural importance.

There being an evident and declared desire to establish an order of *nobility* in the United States, by the *Hamiltonian* faction, and as that desire has not been so openly manifested in any other portion of this Union, as New England, where the habitudes of life seem most inimical to such an arrogant order, we shall present a flying statement of the origin of that domineering body among the Romans. The first Patricians or Nobility of Rome, who were sublimated with that title, were the children and descendants of the hundred senators named by Romulus (Livius Titus, lib. i.) Lucius Brutus. The Dictator, Cæsar, and the Emperors Augustus and Claudius created others, upon the principle that the ancestors of the parties had rendered vast services to their country; (Suetonius & Tacitus) but we find no recorded good of this body, corporately considered, although there are many instances of their insolent folly. The puppy Clodius, who was of this order, had the presumption to call Cicero, the father and conservator of his country, the clown of Arpinum: a similar affront was offered to the great Coriolanus, (*Ille arator Arpinas, et manipularis Imperator*) because he was a general extracted from the pursuits of husbandry—and this is the language of Pliny. The same unworthy spirit prevailed in the memorable “reign of terror,” when the advocates for an American nobility stigmatized the illustrious Franklin with the vile appellation of “*Old Lightning Rod!*” We had a self-created peerage here, who, in a tadpole state, were directing their mean obloquies against the pures, wisest and bravest defenders of our common rights. They huddled together into a paltry mass, and drew a circle of distinction and extinction around them, to separate themselves from the Farmer and Mechanic, whom they unblushingly avoided and reprobated as “the rabble”—after all this folly and madness, they affect to wonder that they have lost the regards and confidence of their fellow citizens! They affect to wonder that the people clung to Mr. Jefferson as their best point of hope in the day of trouble; that they called him to the chair of state with unprecedented acclamations and unanimity, imploring the Creator to bless his life, that he might consolidate and reunite their shattered interests, and fulfil the mission of benevolence. Had not the election of Mr. Jefferson taken place thus timely, we should even now have been trodden under the feet of a *monied aristocracy*, who would have had all the *fierte* and repulsion of excluding arrogance, without the accompaniment of those graces which can render distinction tolerable.

*'Twas not the spawn of such as these,
That dyed, with Punic blood, the blushing seas,
And smote the stern Æacides.
Bade even Albion's chosen legions yield,
And won the long disputed World in Saratoga's field !*

Surrounded with hostile cabals and haughty aspiring men, who are aiming to raise a monarchy upon the ashes of the republic ; stunned with the din of calumny, and subjected to the impertinent questions of folly, and the anger of despair, Jefferson lifts his radiant head above the storm with magnanimity, being assured of the love and gratitude of the most discerning people that were ever leagued together in one political obligation. To satisfy the desires of all, when those desires are so contradictory, is not within the sphere of moral agency ; but he does as much as the frailty of our nature will permit, by resorting to virtue, in his intention, and to experience in his action. It has been obviously his endeavour to prove that natural society may be maintained by the fair principles of natural justice, and that mankind may be taught to regard virtue from the beauty of its semblance and the holiness of its qualities. It is for the peculiar reputation as well as happiness of the New World, that such a system can be properly appreciated here, as there is no other territory where the intelligence of the people would be equal to the reception or enjoyment of such unexampled advantages. The other societies of the earth are little better than the Roman slaves were ; *pro nullis, pro mortuis* : or of no account in the scale of honor, retribution or mercy. They may have their gradations of bondage, but they are all in fetters, subject to the caprice of *hereditary* despots, who impiously pretend to be consecrated by the Almighty while they are mocking his benign attributes in nearly all their determinations.

It is apparently the disposition of Mr Jefferson, not to try how much can be done with toleration, but how much the nature of what is good and equitable may require : his administration seems rather an experiment of governing kindness, proving how far society can be virtuously consistent, independent of coercive harshness ; than as a course of rule corresponding with human wants, and equal to the resistance of the worst affections of the mind. Without largesses for the covetous ; without titles for the vain ; without commensurate rigour for the unworthy, and without sustenance for the extraneously ambitious, he holds the scales of a nation's glory, and, with a steady hand ; leaving the unsheathed sword to the guidance of justice who superintends his understanding, and ratifies his declaration. Under his auspicious government, we hear nothing of mercenary armies ; sedition bills to suppress examination ; intolerable taxation ; proscriptive statutes ; cockade insignæ ; tumult, massacres, and all those train of horrors with which the fearful Tyrant environs his seat of

authority. No! conscious of his unspotted integrity and patriotism, he disdains to be indebted for any buttress to his power, but what arises from the knowledge and regard of his fellow-citizens. Under such a beneficent magistracy, where is a more energetic call upon the forbearance of honest men, in the luxuriance of freedom which we *now* enjoy, than in other nations where the execution of a mandate is prompt and horrible. Having the latitude to do much wrong with impunity, would be a guarantee, with a noble mind, not to exercise the privilege in wantonness. Every ordinance that has been issued by Mr. Jefferson, is encircled by compassion; it seems the result of a conviction that we must, (ere many years more are past) descend into the tomb, where the ermine and the pomp of office, and all the emblazonment of the herald will be forgotten, and where nothing can survive the cold arrows of death, but the virtue of the man. He has found the great secret, which is so illustrative of the christian doctrine, that the love of himself, is involved in the love of others.

*"Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake:
The centre mov'd a circle strait succeeds;
Another still, and still another spreads:
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race."*

This inauguration will be memorable in the annals of social greatness: It comes upon us, like the return of the genial spring, when the brightest prospects are touched by the sweet pencil of hope: Yet it is not flattering, but warranted by the experience of the senses. We hail it, as the millennium of Philosophy; as the commencement of those liberal times, when the ethics of our faith, shall supersede the intolerance of the zealot: when the vizard shall be plucked from the visage of the hypocrite; and the *piety of the tongue*, be arranged in comparative examination with the *morals of the heart*, preparatory to their prostration, in sackcloth and ashes, before the anger of the living God.

To secure an unvaried return of these blessings, it is incumbent on every man to be at his post, for

"We have scotch'd the snake, not killed it."

It is our bounden duty, to elect such men to the prominent offices of State Government, whose principles are in accordance with the executive authority of the empire. The whole world is regarding your present enjoyment of peace, strength, economy and honor, with sensations of admiration and envy. As security is the deceiver of men, you must never forget the causes of the declension of the Roman Republic.— That august Commonwealth never shone with so much lustre, as in the epoch of its

adversity. When they became rich and potent, they were negligent of probity, and ungrateful to their defenders. Deluged with streams of wickedness that flowed in upon their institutions and polluted their manners, they began to forsake their Gods and themselves. Spartacus, a Thracian slave (who was the Touissant of elder times) took advantage of their luxurious resignation, and with a band of co slaves, defeated their stoutest Generals. When their manly qualities were emasculated by viciousness, they sunk into effeminacy, and suffered their charter to be usurped by Cæsar; he had his successors in dominion and iniquity, until a horde of Barbarians, allured by their far-famed voluptuousness, descended from the Alps into the pregnant valleys of Italy, and, like a harsh whirlwind, swept the embers of the Roman people, from the dwellings of their fathers, and the temples of their Olympian Jove.

If this empire should be successively regulated, by men, similar in thought and virtue to Mr. Jefferson, it will be so vast and splendid, as to cast those of Rome, Assyria and Babylon at an immeasurable distance. Agreeably to the progress of time, we may rationally anticipate the bliss when agriculture and commerce shall traverse the wilds and the lakes, spreading civilization and comfort before them: until bounded by another sea, the glad Genius of Columbia shall repose, and become dutiful and responsive to the voice of Liberty, from the margin of the north-west ocean!

Teach your children, Fellow-Citizens, to list the achievements of your Revolutionary Heroes, and the noble axioms of your Sages at that momentous crisis, that the character of your glory, may be pure and luminous, and durable as the Greek fire. Instruct them in the civilities of demeanor, that our condition may be as graceful as it is vigorous. Guard the Federal compact, that was bequeathed you, by your immortal Washington, from the open assaults of treason, and the more dangerous inroads of an unfriendly dissimulation. Deposit it in the ark of your national honor, where we fervently pray, it may remain integral and unpolluted, for ever and ever!

As a Scholar and a Philosopher, Mr. Jefferson stands unrivalled in this empire, at least there is no extant evidence to the contrary. Dr. Franklin was eminent as a Philanthropist and a Philosopher, but not as a polite Scholar, and Mr. Hamilton had but a limited pretension to either character, although he had fatal merit as a political Leader. We have a cheerful expectation that Mr. Jefferson, may introduce the elements of a *national institute*, among us, to place Science on a basis of appropriate honor. The general state of Literature is truly deplorable; it is rounded with ignorance and calumny—Satire is a wholesome corrective, that requires eminent endowments and acquirements to enforce, but every coarse miscreant can defame, and they, who are most brutal, believe they are most in request. We cannot think of the vast importance of this country to the felicity of the whole human race, without being tremblingly anxious for the establishment of every advantage, that

can be conducive to its power and glory—At present. *Montesquieu* and *Noah Webster*, the *Iliad* and *Yankee Doodle*, are nearly in the same scale of praise!

As there is an unusual portion of good sense, in the community, it has often astonished us, that there should be so little practical decorum, though decorum is the food of morals.—We should be happy to see the Republicans engraft *aristocratic manners* upon *democratic principles* :—as politeness is the necessary and required re-ult of civilization, it will force itself eventually, into our embraces; if it is not suffered to advance in mild association with freedom, it will assume a partial aspect, and burst upon us, in the splendid impositions of a monarchy.—We are anxious to have it proved, that what society may gain in *principles*, they may not lose in *manners*. We fervently hope the generous influence of Mr. Jefferson's authority, may add such force to the hospitality of the nation, that when distinguished men arrive in America, in conformity with Congressional invitation, they may receive those sweetened civilities of life, which are uniformly enjoyed in the elder countries, where no such allurements are held forth.—When this amelioration occurs, if another *Ovid* should be exiled by another Tyrant, he will not be envied for his genius, nor be obnoxious for his accomplishments.—Then the Graces and the Muses, will rejoice, in the liberation of the New World.

ANTHONY PASQUIN.





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